

THE HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

TOGETHER WITH
AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME CAREFULLY PRINTED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MS. PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED
THE NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

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MDCCLXIX.

A SHORT VIEW
OF THE
STATE AND CONDITION
OF THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND
FROM THE YEAR 1640 TO THIS TIME:

OR,

A Vindication of his late Majesty of blessed Memory, our Sovereign the King that now is, and their Majesties supreme Minister trusted by them for the conducting the Affairs of that Kingdom from the Scandals and Calumnies cast on them by many scurrilous Pamphlets set forth in Latin by anonymous Writers, and particularly against a Pamphlet lately published by the Direction of the titular Bishop of Fernes, and composed by him.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE present edition is printed verbatim from the original MS. preserved in the Bodleian library as far as it goes: the remainder is taken from another MS. in the same library, which seems to have been transcribed from the original MS. when complete. On the cover of the original MS. is written by Dr. Douglas, late bishop of Salisbury, the following memorandum: “Clarendon’s MS. of the Irish rebellion. Imperfect. N. B. It “contains about one half of the printed octavo volume, from the “beginning to the end of page 173^a, and should be carefully “preserved, as it demonstrates the genuineness of the work: the “editor of which, as appears from the attestation of archbishop “King prefixed to the printed edition, knew nothing of any “MS. copy of it existing in lord Clarendon’s own handwriting. “J. D.”

The transcript is thus labelled: “His grace the duke of “Ormond’s papers.” And on another leaf, in the handwriting of lord Clarendon: *Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat.*—Cicero de Oratore.

OXFORD, 1849.



PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION, LOND, 1720.

THAT the author of these following memoirs was the great earl of Clarendon, the writer of that incomparable history of the great Rebellion, the zealous defender of the Church of England, in his Remarks on Hobbes’s Politics, his Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet against the furious attacks of Serenus Cressy, and his plea for his lawful sovereign Charles the First, of glorious memory,

^a [Paragraph 111, line 3 of this edition.]

against the infamous scandals cast upon him by a crew of hardened and graceless rebels, will appear to any one who with judgment compares the style of those several pieces together; there is the same smartness, the same impartiality, the same spirit of Christianity runs through them all, and they were all written with the noblest design in the world.

His duty being paid to the memory of his royal master, whose defence could he better undertake than his, who had been one of the greatest and one of the most faithful and loyal subjects in the British world; one who had filled the place he held with that sufficiency, that steadiness and indefatigability, as well as with that wonderful address, inimitable patience, and honest policy, which might perhaps be found in a Parmenio, a Hannibal, a Zamoski, a Farneze, a Wentworth, a Hopton, and some few others, whose gallant actions fill the unblushing records of fame, but in the present age may be sought for everywhere in vain.

Honest loyalty, untainted with either popish or fanatic principles, had been for many ages so inseparably annexed to the family of the Botelers, that merit only had raised them to the titles of earl, marquis, and at last of duke of Ormond: they had been always faithful to the crown of England, always active in its service, against the tumultuating and too easily rebelling Irish their countrymen; and this great man, in whose vindication my lord Clarendon writes, had suffered all the scandal and obloquy, all the abuses and affronts, and all the losses of his mighty fortunes, both from papists and enthusiastic rebels, which madness or malice could inflict upon him; yet neither could the rage of infatuated Roman bigots, nor the heavy menaces of prevailing and successful rebels, nor the decoys or wheedles of the children of disobedience shock his faith in the least, or make him deviate from the rules of honour and conscience, or loyalty, or persuade him to betray the trust his gracious master had put into his hands, to save his own stake, or to secure his precipitating fortune.

When the insatiable malice of two rebellious houses of parliament had forced that excellent prince Charles the First to sacrifice that admirable minister of state, the lord Strafford, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to their Moloch of discontent and then brooding villainy; the affairs of Ireland were in a dangerous condition, the Irish army ordered to be disbanded, the

transporting of them into the service of other princes, the best way to prevent their doing mischief at home, forbidden; the king under a necessity of making one his lieutenant who was no way competent for the charge, and yet hindered by various artifices from sending him. These things compelled his majesty to depute the marquis of Ormond, as the fittest person in that whole kingdom, to take care of all affairs there, till the lieutenant could personally attend his office; for that compassionate prince's heart bled with his poor bleeding protestant subjects, the rescue of whom, though committed to the care of our pretended patriots, that they might have no negligence to be complained of on the king's part, being in plain terms deserted, the Irish rebels permitted to go on murdering and destroying the poor protestants with impunity, and indeed without any opposition, but what was made with the weak and ill-accoutréed, but the admirable vigilance and conduct of the marquis of Ormond.

Who were the first beginners of those barbarous murders and horrid massacres committed in that kingdom is easily determined, by comparing the accounts on both sides in the Appendix; but whoever began them, perhaps no age or nation in the world ever endured so terrible a carnage as that miserable kingdom then, when it was a literal Aceldama, and the streams of blood rising every day higher. The lords justices of Ireland, who have given us an imperfect and very partial account of transactions there, seem to have taken proper measures to exasperate the natives against the English transplanted thither, as if they were so secure of baffling the rebels when they pleased, that they wished they might go on unchecked for a while, that the forfeited lands might be the more, and the nation attain to peace only by the vastness of the desolation; and of all this, their own account of their own management gives too many and too observable intimations.

What could be the reason else why the lords justices should desire but twenty copies of those proclamations, by which the Irish then in arms were declared rebels, with all the promises of goodness to such as returned in due time to their obedience to their sovereign, and all agreeable menaces to the obstinate; as if they were afraid the poor wretches should be too well apprised of their hopes and of their danger; and yet when the king sent them double more than what they desired, the

skeleton of a factious rout in the English parliament could charge their sovereign with that fear, as if he had been unwilling to fix the name of rebels upon those barbarous murderers; doubtless it would be hard to give a satisfactory reason for so base a juggl, unless matters were managed by the lords justices in concert with the rebels of England by that stratagem to enhance the rebellion, and to render the best of princes odious to his too little considering subjects.

However the lords justices behaved themselves as to the civil concerns, the army under the marquis of Ormond, how inconsiderable soever it was, held the rebels at bay; and when his dear master's interest sunk beneath the amazing success of the English rebels, he, according to those instructions he received from his master, endeavoured a cessation of arms, since a victory over the rebels, without men or money or ammunition, was infeasible; that at least the poor protestants might have some time to breathe, and the return of the Irish to their duty to their prince might at least amuse, and give a check to the progress of the English rebels, and might in some measure have atoned for the innocent blood they had shed.

None could apply him to this work with more prudence or industry than the marquis, nor was the state of things at that time capable of any turn more advantageous either to prince or people; but it was an attempt which the devil and wicked men could not think of with patience.

Those who were in the interest of the English rebels fell foul upon this great man, as if he had been one ready to betray the protestant cause to the popish Irish, and were all for carrying on the war, though the lords justicos themselves had sufficiently informed them of the impossibility of doing so, in the midst of all the necessities the few troops on foot in Ireland then laboured under; and they were so far from furnishing that little army with what they wanted, that both men, money, and ammunition, pretendedly got together for that important service, were made use of to strengthen and carry on the unnatural rebellion against their lawful sovereign at home; but they were so apprehensive of the marquis's wisdom, valour, and conduct, that they were frequent in their attempts to draw him from his dear master's service, either to their own, or to a quiet retirement to foreign parts. All which attempts proving vain, they endeavoured to

expose his honour and reputation, and to make him little better than a papist in masquerade, and fit to be run down upon any terms whatsoever.

But the greatest enemies the marquis had were by providence made his irrefragable compurgators : the pope's nuncio, Reinuccini, and the popish bishops, who sometimes pretended to extraordinary loyalty, and to defend the rights of his majesty against sectaries and enthusiasts ; who were ready to promise any thing, and who were as desirous that his majesty should be thought an abettor of their inhuman barbarities as either Baxter or Calamy, or any other the most black-mouthing enemy of their admirable prince's unspotted reputation ; but there has been so clear and full a vindication of that prince's honour by the pens of others, as well as this noble author, that the malice of that putid fable is obvious to every sober good man, and for the sentiments of factious brutes and rebels, they are the honour of every man who falls under them.

The politics of the court of Rome are generally supposed to be of the most refined complexion of those of any court in Europe ; yet he that considers the conduct of the legate from that court in France during the flourish of the holy league, or that of Reinuccini in Ireland, would conclude they had picked out a couple of madmen to carry on a design, which, whether good or bad, could never prosper in such hands. The attempt for a cessation of arms between the protestants and papists was doubtless with a design to stop that issue of blood which had been drawn out so very profusely, and that there might, if possible, be some room for mercy for those inhuman criminals ; but the nuncio was for building castles in the air ; setting up a chimerical popish monarchy in opposition to the principles of the soberest and most learned writers of their own church ; for exercising such a power, both in temporal and spiritual matters, as no emissary of Rome in the most bigoted nations ever pretended to before : the popish bishops showed themselves the most perfidious and infatuated creatures that ever God permitted perverted nature to produce ; law, reason, conscience, real self-interest, religion, signified no more with them than the harmony of the spheres, or thundering with cannon balls against a heap of woolsacks ; lying, swearing, and forswearing were their only virtues ; and the miserable multitude, managed by

them with uncontrollable sway, were like the Turkish asapi at a siege, crowded upon ruin in heaps only to blunt the swords of the bloodthirsty enemy; and none might ask them, more than they might the pope when he precipitates millions into hell, *What doest thou?*

The nuncio and bishops could not confide in Ormond because he was a protestant, yet, in spite of all their malicious endeavours, they could not prove him guilty of any breach of promise to them; but they had taken abundant care to let the marquis know their principle was, that no faith was to be kept with heretics; and by their perfidy they brought several of their own order to ruin. Reinuccini was fain to run for it, so was his great friend Ferns; several of them came to the gallows, attended with all the cruelty and ignominy the prevailing English rebels could fix upon them; they ruined their sovereign and themselves by their obstinate stupidity and treachery, and they had their reward.

And however they laid the fault of their pernicious conduct upon the marquis being a protestant, they proved themselves the same infatuated creatures under the conduct of the marquis of Clanrickard, a papist as zealous as they could wish him; they were insensible, untractable rebels, they would neither lead nor drive; they were ambitious to be undone; and those who would have saved them from themselves were the chief objects of their scorn and hatred; they belonged to the hospital of incurables, and their humour has been followed by too many of the same persuasion since their days, nor would they be recovered out of it but by hellish atheism, a remedy, if possible, infinitely worse than the disease.

Rebellion was begun in those days by the presbyterians in Scotland; God scourged them by the hand of the brave and valiant Mountrose; but they would not return to their duty; God therefore gave them a dreadful visitation by the unsparing swords of Cromwell and Monk, who throughly revenged the quarrel of their lawful sovereign upon them. The presbyterians, or low-church of England, followed the noble pattern of their northern brethren; they rebelled against their prince, they prevailed, made him a prisoner, till at last he was barbarously murdered in the face of the sun, his posterity banished; but they were punished by the same hand, and kicked out of all

their usurped power by the Independents and Anabaptists, till they began to sigh again for that liberty they had so long enjoyed under the protection of him whose hereditary right the crown of these kingdoms was. The papists that rebelled in Ireland were guilty of a thousand execrable cruelties, were obstinate and irreclaimable rebels; no kind treatment, no arguments, no force could reduce them, till God took vengeance into his own hands, permitted the Irish to murder and destroy the English and Scots, the English and Scots to retaliate all their cruelty upon the Irish with fire and sword, that they seem to have been at vie who should prove themselves the most barbarous, who should shed the most blood, God revenging the one upon the other, by their own hands, almost to the extirmination of the whole Irish race: such means does God frequently vindicate his own justice by, and make the sin of the wicked their most terrible punishment.

Upon the whole, we have in these memoirs the lively portraiture of a wise man, a faithful counsellor, a valiant and cautious general; a pious subject, a true lover of his prince, the laws, and his native country; a real patriot in the person of that excellent man, the then marquis, and afterwards worthily created duke of Ormond; cleared from all that dirt which the envy of degenerate souls and the enemies of their country had endeavoured to fix upon him: those things which had been slubbered over, or spitefully misrepresented by other historians, set in a true light; the incessant endeavours of this great man to serve his master and the interests of the English lawful monarchy, and the madness of men bewitched by a spirit of bigotry and insensibility, which hindered the success, and the hand of God which was so visibly stretched out against that foolish and wicked nation.

The noble author of these memoirs, with the earl of Southampton and the duke of Ormond, were three such able ministers of state, so united in their honest designs, and so faithful to the true interest of their master, Charles II, that till the envy of men, and women of ill principles and scandalous behaviour, prevailed upon that prince to break the knot, and to have a lower respect for their persons, neither papists nor fanatics could ever have so far deformed the miraculous beauties of the restoration of our laws, our proper lawgivers, or our religion;

that threefold cord was not easily broken, but when it was, hell soon broke loose, and made the way too open for those public calamities which these nations have since groaned under.

But by this time it may be expected by the reader that some account should be given of the genuineness of what is here recommended to his perusal; and though, as it was before observed, whoever reads it with judgment and attention may easily discover the spirit of the noble author in every page, yet, for his further satisfaction, I shall subjoin a passage or two from Dr. Nalson, which will put the matter beyond all doubt. Among other historians who had taken occasion to treat of the affairs of Ireland before him, he makes this observation on Borlase, “ that he is an author of such strange inconsistency, that his book is rather a paradox than a history, and it must needs be so ; for, I know not by what accident, the copy of a manuscript written by the right honourable the late earl of Clarendon happening to fall into his hands, he has very unartfully blended it with his own rough and unpolished heap of matter,” &c. Which charge may easily be made out, by comparing Dr. Borlase’s history with that which is here first faithfully and entirely printed from the genuine manuscript, free from the abuses a copy of it sustained by the unfair dealing of the aforesaid historian. That Dr. Nalson had been obliged with my lord Clarendon’s original copy, by the duke of Ormond himself, is apparent from the second volume of his Collections, where he takes several pages from it, which he fairly acknowledges, and sums up in the following words (with which I shall close this preface) : “ Thus far this excellent author, whose words, though not exactly accommodated to the period of time, I have thought fit to insert here, because they give the reader a landscape, or short map of all the tragical actions which filled the scene of Ireland with blood and desolation ; and will be of excellent use to the understanding of many future passages of that and our own miserable and bleeding nation.”

A SHORT VIEW

STATE AND CONDITION OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

I WILL speak, that I may be refreshed, says the wisest and the least faulty of Job's friends, (xxxii. 20,) when he was wearied and tired with the impertinency and insolence of the others; *Eloquar ut respiratio sit mihi*, says one translation, *I will speak that I may breathe*. It is a very great pain to hear men speak ignorantly and impertinently and wickedly, and not to have liberty to control or disprove them; no suffocation more unpleasant than such a forced silence; to hear virtuous and worthy actions declaimed and inveighed against, and virtuous and worthy men censured, traduced, and reproached for doing what they ought, and by their duties are obliged to do, whilst unlawful and sinful actions are justified or commended, and their abettors magnified and extolled; and not to reply to those malicious discourses: to be forced to hear our natural sovereign (an innocent and a pious prince) slandered and accused with reproaches, calumnies, and lies, aspersions notoriously false, and easy to be made appear to be so, and to keep silence: to see and hear God himself profaned and

blasphemed, his omnipotence questioned and slighted, his justice disputed, and his anger derided: to hear murder, treason, and rebellion vindicated and maintained, as committed and propagated by the infusion and direction of his Spirit, and his blessed name invoked and challenged for the defence and support of such a mass of wickedness, and not to open a man's mouth against this horrid blasphemy, is not only more vexation, and grief, and torment of mind, but really a more sensible, a sharper, and a more piercing pain to the inward and nobler parts of a wise and an honest man, than what the outward limbs are subject to by the gout, toothache, or rack itself. Never age subjected men to this kind of pain and trouble more than the present; when, to the persecution which good men undergo in the loss of their fortunes and lives, in their banishment from their friends, their families, and their country, and the wants and necessities which naturally attend that sad condition, this circumstance is added, (a circumstance that most persecutions have been without,) that they are pursued with reproaches of not having done their part in resisting the rude torrent which hath overborne them, (when they bear all the honourable marks of doing and suffering,) oftentimes with calumnies of a baser alloy, of complying with the public enemies, when (next to the public) their particular merit and virtue hath been with most envy, malice, and fury, detested and prosecuted by those enemies, and with such other scandals and unworthy aspersions, as may alienate the affections of the beholders, and deprive them of that compassion and honour and justice, which is due from all the world to their courage, wisdom, and integrity. And this kind of effeminate temper too often rages in the breasts of those who come in some degree to be joint-sufferers with the other in the common calamities; who, having been originally guilty of making those breaches, at which greater, or rather other

wickedness hath broke in, than they, it may be, at first intended, instead of acknowledging their own folly and madness, labour rather to traduce those who hindered them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevailed further than they desired to have done.

2 There need[s] no other instance, how many more soever may be given, of this petulant and unchristian humour, than the licence which hath been and still is taken, by some of the Romish clergy of the Irish nation, (in some printed pamphlets, whereby they would move the Christian world to take compassion on them,) to lay aspersions and unworthy imputations upon the king, who is in heaven, who used all imaginable princely endeavours to have reduced and preserved them, after they had most rebelliously provoked him, and upon his majesty that now is, (whose faithful subjects they seem to desire to be thought and accounted,) and upon the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant of that kingdom, who (having served their majesties with the greatest courage and magnanimity, and upon the most abstracted considerations of honour and conscience, and thereby struck so great a reverence of his virtue even into his enemies, that though they hate and fear him most, yet they have never reproached or reviled him) is now forced, by some unquiet and unworthy spirits of his own country, to undergo those *flagella linguae*, the strokes of the tongue, from which only the omnipotency of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and the most excellent persons: and though the old receipt and prescription of *spreta exolescunt* may to many seem fit to be applied to these odious ebullitions, and that to take the least notice of such lewd discourses (which flow from no other fountain but of malice and ignorance) is to do them too much credit; yet, since the judgments even of the most upright and the wisest men may be corrupted by the mistaking matters of fact, and since the titular bishop

of Fernes (for it will be no presumption to say, though the pope may make bishops, he cannot dispose of the bishoprics within the dominions of the king of Great Britain) hath thought fit to publish a little book in his own name, and industriously to disperse the same into all parts, and among such persons who can be presumed to know little of the affairs of Ireland, otherwise than they are informed ; and in that book to lay many reproaches upon his own lawful sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the person of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom, the marquis of Ormond, (whom his lordship ought not to mention without reverence,) and in that manner as if he were the mouth, and spake the words of that whole nation; I have not only thought it a debt due to truth and justice, but a respect to that unhappy and oppressed nation, (of which very many noble persons have behaved themselves with notable fidelity to their prince,) and even an act of charity to the Romish catholic faith, (which may undergo some scandal from the licence and distemper of such discourses,) to endeavour to preserve the minds of men from being wrought upon by those infusions and corrupted by those misinformations.

3 For the better doing whereof, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the true state and condition of the kingdom of Ireland before the year 1640, and of those material passages which since that time have, in the opinion of the bishop, or in truth, contributed to the full calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discerned where the fault hath been, and from whence the misfortune hath proceeded. In the doing whereof, I shall allege no matter of fact of which there is not unquestionable evidence, nor make any deductions or conclusions which do not naturally result from those actions, leaving the history of the memorable acts which have passed on either side, in the managery of that war, to those who have better means and skill to compose

the same, having in truth no other end in this work than to vindicate the most entire persons from the most unreasonable calumnies; to undeceive those who are imposed upon by untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the deceivers to those ingenuous and Christian courses which can best advance their own pretensions and real interest. It is not the bishop's calling the ten years' war in Ireland *sanctum justissimumque bellum*, nor his saying that they have undergone constant and most severe persecution for their profession of the catholic religion for the space of one hundred and thirty years, that can make the happy and blessed condition forgotten which that nation was possessed of before their own (to say no worse) unskilful rage and fury brought this war upon them. They have now leisure enough to revolve, and I hope spirits better prepared to value, the wonderful plenty, peace, and security they enjoyed till the year 1641, when they wantonly and disdainfully flung those blessings from them; the increase of traffick, the improvement of land, the erection of buildings, and whatever else might be profitable and pleasant to a people, which were advantages and ornaments that the policy and industry of that nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquired by the skill and labour of the English, planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably amongst them: taxes, tallages, and contributions, were things hardly known to them by their names: whatever their land, labour, or industry produced, was their own; being not only free from the fear of having it taken from them by the king, upon any pretence whatsoever, without their own consents, but also so secured against thieves and robbers, by the due execution of good laws, that men might and did travel over all parts of the kingdom with great sums of money unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious state of affairs be or was undervalued, under the notion of being but temporal blessings, and

the want of freedom alleged in the exercise of the Romish religion, to which that nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied, that (though by the laws and constitutions of that kingdom the power and authority of the bishop of Rome is not in any degree allowed or submitted to) the whole nation enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of that religion, and even at Dublin (where the seat of the king's chief governor was) they went as publicly and as uninterruptedly to their devotions as he went to his: bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of the secular and regular clergy, were known to live and exercise their functions amongst them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which the necessity and wisdom of former ages had caused to be enacted, to suppress those acts of treason and rebellion which that people frequently then fell into, and the policy of the present time kept unrepealed, to prevent the like distempers and designs; yet the edge of those laws was so totally abated by the clemency and compassion of the king, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in or for his religion; which is another kind of indulgence than the subjects professing a faith contrary to what is established by the laws of the land can boast of in any other kingdom of the world. In this blessed condition of peace and security, the English and the Irish, the protestants and the Roman catholics, lived mingled together in all the provinces of the kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy reign of king James; and from his death, every degree of their happiness was increased and improved under the government of his late majesty, as long as they contained themselves within the bounds of duty and allegiance towards him. The wealth of the kingdom was exceedingly increased by the importation of great store of money thither, and a wonderful increase of trade; several new and profitable manufactures were

introduced and erected, whereby the inhabitants were set on work, and the land generally improved, by applying it to several sorts of good husbandry, which that people had been utterly unacquainted with. Roman catholic landlords had protestant tenants, and many protestant landlords Roman catholic tenants. Friendships, nay marriages, were very frequently contracted between them, and all passion, at least all visible animosities, which flow from the differences of those professions, laid aside or suppressed; when, in the year 1640, when they discerned some distempers arising in England upon the Scots' invasion, and the support and countenance that people then found in both houses of parliament, they would likewise bear their part, and bring in their contribution to the work in hand. Then they began to transplant those humours of jealousy and discontent, which they found springing up seditiously in the parliament at Westminster, into Ireland, and with the same passion and distemper cherished them in the other at Dublin. So they accused, upon general and unreasonable imputations, the principal counsellors and ministers of state, who were intrusted by the crown in that kingdom, of high treason; and thereby, according to the rule then unjustly prescribed at Westminster, removed them from any power over the affairs there, whose wisdom might probably else have prevented the mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they childishly concurred with the greatest enemies their nation or religion had, in the conspiracy against the life of the earl of Strafford, the lord lieutenant of that kingdom, by whose wisdom and government that kingdom had reaped great advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and sent a committee from Dublin to Westminster, to join in the prosecution of him; and having in the end procured the miserable (and never enough lamented) ruin of that great person, they powerfully opposed and hindered the conferring that charge upon any

of those his majesty had designed it to, and got it devolved into such hands which were most unlike to grapple with the difficulties they were sure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost power, fomented the divisions in England, and discountenanced and weakened the regal power in Ireland, by raising the same factions against it there, on the sudden, upon the 23d day of October, according to that computation, in the year of our Lord 1641, without the least pretence of quarrel or hostility so much as apprehended by the protestants, great multitudes of Irish Roman catholics in the province of Ulster, and shortly after in other provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized upon the towns, castles, and houses belonging to protestants, which by their force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous circumstances of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, murdered an incredible number of protestants, men, women, and children promiscuously, and without distinction of age or sex. Of all those who were within the reach of their power, they who escaped best were robbed of all that they had, to their very skins, and so turned naked to endure the sharpness of that season; and by that means, and for want of relief, many thousands of them perished by hunger and cold. The design which at the same time was laid for the surprise of the castle of Dublin (the residence of the king's chief governors, and his majesty's principal magazine of arms and ammunition, wherewith it was then plentifully stored) being discovered by a person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that place was left securely to consult of the best means to oppose that torrent which was like to overwhelm the kingdom; and for a refuge to the poor protestants, who from all parts of the kingdom flocked thither, despoiled, robbed, and stripped, with the sad relations of the most inhuman cruelties and murders exercised upon their friends, kin-

dred, and neighbours, which have been ever heard of amongst Christians ; and in this manner, and with these circumstances, began that war which the bishop of Fernes calls most just and holy.

4 It is not the purpose of this discourse to lay any imputations of this rebellion and savage cruelty upon the Irish nation, and the catholics of that kingdom, of whom many persons of honour were never in the least degree tainted with that corruption, but on the contrary, have always given as signal testimonies of their affection and duty to the king, and of their detestation of that odious and bloody defection, as any of his subjects of either of his other kingdoms have done, and whose memories must with equal justice and care be transmitted to posterity as precious examples of honour and integrity. Others were, by the passion and rigour of those who were then in authority, (and had power enough to destroy whom they had inclination to suspect or accuse,) driven to put themselves into the protection of those whose ways and courses they totally disapproved ; and many, who were by misinformation and misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in contriving the war and the insurrection, were enemies to those actions of blood, rapine, and inhumanity which dishonour any war, and grew quickly willing to repair the breaches they had made, and to return to that duty which they had violated : but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to beseech those of that nation, whether clergy or laity, who, in respect of the present weight of calamity under which they are oppressed, may be worthy of compassion, to remember, that though they now continue this war with innocence and justice, they first entered into it with extreme guilt, and prosecuted it with extreme and unnecessary cruelty ; and that though they now lawfully defend themselves, their country, and their king against the worst and most merciless of tyrants, they had never

been driven into these exigents, nor undergone these devouring afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of kings; and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first transgression, is like to be the most Christian and the most catholic expedient to persuade God Almighty to protect and relieve them in their present sufferings and intolerable pressures; and the contrary and most unprelatrical temper, the defending and justifying the war from the beginning to be most just and holy, and that most horrible rage and fury in the prosecution of it to be the pious means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy war, may probably indispose that Providence from taking any pity of them, or preserving them from a total extirpation.

5 One circumstance of unhappy and impious policy must not be forgotten, by which the bold authors of that unnatural war, in the first entrance into it, promised to themselves notable advantages; and which in truth (as most of the policy of that kind usually is turned to the ruin of the politicians) brought unspeakable misery and devastation upon that whole country and nation. For the better inducing the people, (who having lived so long in peace and amity with the English were not without some reverence to that government, and so could not in plain and direct terms be easily led into an avowed rebellion against their king,) they not only declared, and with great skill and industry published throughout the kingdom, that they took arms for the king, and the defence of his lawful prerogative, against the puritanical parliament of England, which, they said, invaded it in many parts; but that what they did was by his majesty's consent, approbation, and authority; and to that purpose produced and shewed a commission, to the which they had fixed an impression of the great seal of England, that they had taken off from some grant or patent which had

regularly and legally passed ; and so it was not hard to persuade weak and unexperienced persons to believe that it was a true and real commission from the king : and by this foul stratagem they cast so odious an imputation upon the king, and upon those persons who were worthily nearest his affection and counsels, (that seditious party in England, who were then contriving all the mischief they have since brought to pass, using all their arts to propagate those horrible calumnies, and to infuse into the hearts of the people an irreverence and jealousy of the king, queen, and those of nearest trust to either of them,) that his majesty was even compelled, for his own vindication, and lest he might be thought too faint a prosecutor of an enemy whose insurrection it was said himself had fomented, to commit the whole management of that war to his two houses of parliament, who again interested and intrusted such members of their own body with the ordering and directing the same, as were resolved, with most passion, uncharitableness, and violence, to prosecute that whole nation, and the religion that most generally was exercised there. Thus were all persons, who were to conduct both the civil and martial affairs in Ireland, drawn to a dependance upon the two houses of parliament at Westminster ; all officers and commanders for that war nominated or approved by them, and all monies raised for that service issued and disposed only by their orders : and, by these means, they, who craftily intended to draw a support and countenance to themselves by using the king's name to purposes he abhorred, sottishly defrauded and deprived themselves of that protection and mercy which his majesty would willingly have vouchsafed to them for their reduction and preservation. For, from this time, when any thing was proposed of extravagancy or overmuch rigour, which the proposers said was necessary for the carrying on that war, if the king made any scruple or

pause in giving his consent to the same, they straight declared that they were obstructed in sending relief to the poor protestants of Ireland, and then published some particular relations of the lamentable and inhuman massacres made there by the Irish, which were confirmed by multitudes of miserable undone people, who landed from thence in the several parts of England ; who likewise reported the rebels' discourses, of executing all by the king's direction : so that indeed it was not in his power to deny any thing which they thought fit to say was necessary to the good work in hand. Thus he was compelled to put all the strong holds, towns, and castles in the province of Ulster, into the possession of the Scots, who were at that time, by the great managers, believed to be more worthy to be trusted than the English, with unusual circumstances of power, and even a kind of independency upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland ; and when his majesty desired them to reconsider their own proposition, and reflect how much it might trench upon the English interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advised his majesty to that delay was an enemy to the kingdom and a promoter of the rebellion in Ireland. Thus his majesty was necessitated to consent to that bill, by which too great a latitude is given for the disposal of lands, in the several provinces of that kingdom, to those who have adventured money in the war ; and which, without the interposition, shelter, and mercy of the sovereign power, would give up almost that whole people and their fortunes to the disposal of their cruel enemies. And lastly, by this groundless and accursed calumny, thus raised upon the king, full power was devolved into their hands, who too much imitated the fury and inhumanity of the Irish in the carrying on the war, and proceeded with such rigour and cruelty in the shedding of blood, as was most detested by his majesty's gracious and merciful disposition.

6 When the rebellion brake out in England, and the king was thereby compelled to take up arms for his own defence, and had seen the men and money, raised by his authority for the relief of Ireland, employed by his English rebels against himself, and so his protestant subjects in that kingdom, upon the matter, deserted, at least unprovided for, and the strength and power of the Romish catholics increasing, and every day improved by assistance and aid from abroad, his majesty believed they had made the worst use they could of all the slanders and reproaches which were raised against him, and began to interpose his own royal authority a little more than he could formerly do in managing the affairs of Ireland, and made such an alteration in the government there, by removing one of the lords justices who was most addicted to the English rebels, and most applicable to their ends, and putting a moderate and discreet person in the place, that his majesty's honour and commands, and the public interest of the kingdom, were more regarded, and the power which the English parliament had unreasonably assumed there, less considered, and likewise granted a more absolute power and jurisdiction in the military affairs to the marquis of Ormond than he had before had, well knowing, that as he was a person of the most ancient honour, and the greatest and noblest fortune within that kingdom, and of very signal affection to the crown, upon the most abstracted considerations of conscience, duty, and integrity; so that being of that nation, and too much concerned in their peace and happiness to wish an extirpation of it, he would carry on the war with less unnecessary severity and devastation than had been used; which was like to prove the most effectual way to purge that people from the despair they had swallowed, and dispose them to return to their duty and allegiance. And it will not be denied, that from this time, (however the Irish were defeated always in battle

as often as they encountered with the marquis, and such execution was then taken as in the heat and unruliness of those contentions cannot be prevented,) there was never any foul act done by the English, nor greater rigour used than was necessary to the work in hand ; no retaliation of former outrages, but quarter given when desired ; and all articles consented to by the marquis or his officers punctually observed and performed to the natives ; and the war, in all considerations, prosecuted by the same rules, and with the same temper, as if it had been against an equal enemy, who could have justified the entering into it.

7 And here it must be observed, that how cheap soever the marquis is now grown in the opinion of the bishop as a soldier and a general in war, and how much soever [the bishop] is pleased to reproach his unactivity against the enemy during the whole time that he alone ordered and conducted the war against the Roman catholics on the behalf of his majesty, his unwearied vigilance and industry, in quick, painful, and sudden marches, his sharp and successful counsel in designs, and his undaunted courage in execution, was very grievous and formidable to them. How many of their towns, forts, and castles did he take from them with a handful of men ! When did they appear before him in the field, though with numbers much superior to his, that they were not defeated, routed, and disbanded ! Let them remember the battle at Kilrush, in April 1642, when, being more than double the number of the marquis, they thought without difficulty to have cut off his army, which was then tired and harassed with long marches, and want of all kind of provisions ; but, upon the encounter, the Irish were quickly subdued, slain, and put to flight, with the loss of all their baggage and ammunition. Witness that famous battle near Rosse, where general Preston led an army of above six thousand foot and eight hundred horse against the marquis, who

had not two thousand two hundred foot, nor five hundred horse ; and where, by the advantage of the ground, and other accidents, the Irish horse had routed the English, and driven them from the field ; at the sight whereof the small body of foot were even appalled and dismayed ; when the marquis put himself in the head of his shaken and disheartened infantry, and, by his sole resolution and virtue, inflamed them with shame and courage, and led them against their proud and insulting enemy ; and after a sharp encounter, and the slaughter of as many as had courage to make opposition, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to their bogs and fastnesses, more terrified and confounded with his single name than the power that assisted him.

8 Whilst the marquis had officers and soldiers who would obey and follow him, he found no enemies could withstand him ; without those, nor Hannibal, Scipio, nor Cæsar ever obtained a victory. When by these continual successes the wild distemper of the Irish began to be abated, and they who had been carried along with the popular stream, without any power to resist the torrent, had now opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the consequences which must naturally attend such transactions, they thought an humble address to him whom they had most offended to be a more natural way to peace and happiness than the prosecution of the war, which had been attended with so much misfortune, and accordingly professed a desire to be admitted to petition the king ; in which they found such encouragement, that, upon that their first declaration, a commission was sent by his majesty to the marquis of Ormond and others, to receive any such petition ; which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another commission under the great seal of Ireland was granted to treat with the Roman catholic Irish, in order to a cessation of arms ; that so, upon the intermission of those acts of blood and outrage, and a

more charitable communication of each other's grievances, the foundations for a happy peace might be temperately and maturely weighed and considered: and hereupon that cessation of arms was agreed upon for the space of a year, so much to the advantage and benefit of the Roman catholics.

9 What scandals, reproaches, and real damages the marquis underwent by his being charitably inclined to that cessation, and desiring to prevent those calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the portion of that nation, if they did not speedily return to their allegiance and loyalty, all men know, who were acquainted with the humour and spirit of that time, and the universal prejudice the two kingdoms of England and Scotland had contracted against the Roman catholics of Ireland, for the damages they had sustained, and the rapine and cruelties which had been perpetrated by the first authors of the rebellion, insomuch as a more ungracious and unpopular inclination could not be discovered in any man than a wish or consent that that war (from which so many men promised themselves revenge and fortunes) should be any other way extinguished, than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they would pronounce to be guilty of the defection. And if the marquis hath not found a due retribution of thanks and acknowledgment from the whole nation, for giving them that opportunity to have made themselves happy, (so signally to his own disadvantage,) it must be imputed to that want of understanding, discretion, and gratitude, in which too many of that people have abounded.

10 Shortly after the cessation was made, the confederate catholics sent certain commissioners, authorized by them, to attend his majesty at Oxford, with such desires and propositions as made too lively a representation how incompetent considerers they were of the ways to their own

repose and happiness, and how unlike they were to prevent the destroying calamities which hung over their heads, and so closely pursued them. At the same time, and as long as that treaty lasted, the king was likewise attended by a committee sent by the council board of that kingdom, to inform his majesty of all matters of fact which had passed, and of the laws and customs there, which might be necessary to be well weighed, upon what the catholics should demand or propose : and by another committee, who were deputed by the parliament then sitting at Dublin, to solicit his majesty on the behalf of his protestant subjects of that kingdom ; and that nothing might be granted in that treaty to the prejudice of their interest and security.

11. The catholics, as men who thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and power of the kingdom, and the king's condition in England so weak, as he would buy their assistance at any rates, demanded upon the matter a total alteration of the government both in church and state : the very form of making and enacting laws, which is the foundation of government, and which had been practised ever since the reign of king Henry the Seventh, must be abolished, and, instead of liberty or a toleration for the exercise of the Romish religion, they insisted on such privileges, immunities, and power, as would have amounted at best but to a toleration of the protestant religion ; and that no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other hand, the committee of the parliament, as men who too much felt the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, and undervalued and contemned the catholic Irish, as inferior to them in courage and conduct, and as possessed of a much greater power by the cessation than they could retain in a war, very earnestly pressed the execution of the present laws in force, reparation for the damages they had sustained, disarming the Irish in such a manner, and to such a

degree, as it might not be hereafter in their power to do more mischief ; and such other conditions, as people who are able to contend are not usually persuaded to submit to. In these so different and distant applications, they who were sent as moderate men from the council knew not how to behave themselves, but enough discovered that they had not that confidence in the Irish as to be willing that they should be so far trusted that the performance of their duty should depend only on their affection and allegiance, but that there should be a greater constraint upon them than they were inclined to admit, otherwise, that the protestant religion and the English interest would be sooner rooted out by the peace they proposed than it could be by a war.

12 It is very true, that the commissioners for the confederate catholics demeaned themselves to his majesty with great show of modesty and duty, and confessed that they believed that the demands they were enjoined to insist on were such as his majesty could not consent to ; and that the present condition of his affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those who sent them, before their coming out of Ireland, as it now was ; which if it had been, they were confident they should have had such instructions as would better have complied with their own desires and his majesty's occasions : and therefore frankly offered to return, and use their utmost endeavours to incline the confederate council, whose deputies they were, and who then exercised the supreme power over the confederate catholics of that kingdom, to more moderation, and to return to their full submission and obedience to his majesty upon such conditions as his goodness would consent to for their security.

13 Hereupon the king sent his command to the marquis of Ormond, whom he had now made his lieutenant of that kingdom, to renew and continue the cessation for another year ; and likewise a commission under the great

seal of England, to make a full peace with his catholic subjects, upon such conditions as he found agreeable to the public good and welfare, and as might produce such a peace and union in that kingdom, that it might assist his majesty for the vindication of his regal power and suppressing the rebellions in England and Scotland : and so his majesty dismissed the catholic commissioners with demonstration of much grace and confidence in them ; and with this good counsel, which he most pathetically poured out to them at their departure, that they should remember that the preservation of the nation, and the religion which they professed, and were so zealous for in Ireland, depended upon the preservation of his just right and authority in England. That they saw his subjects in Scotland (contrary to all their obligations) had invaded England, and joined with those rebels against him, who without that assistance would have been speedily reduced to their obediience ; and therefore, if his catholic subjects of Ireland made haste, upon such conditions as he might then grant without prejudice to himself, and which should be amply sufficient for the security of their fortunes, lives, and exercise of their religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled, with God's blessing, to suppress that rebellion, they might confidently believe he would never forget to whose merit he owed his preservation and restoration ; and that it would then be in his own absolute power to vouchsafe graces to them to complete their happiness, and which he gave them his royal word he would then dispense in such a manner as should not leave them disappointed of any of their just and lawful expectations : but if, by insisting on such particulars as he could not in conscience consent to, and their conscience obliged them not to ask, or on such, as though he could himself be contented to yield to, yet in that conjuncture of time would bring so great a damage to him that all the supplies they could give or send could not countervail, and

might be as beneficially granted to them hereafter, when he might better do it; [if] they should delay their joining with him, and so look on till the rebels' power prevailed against him in England and Scotland, and suppressed his party in those kingdoms, it would be then too late for them to give him help, and they would quickly find their strength in Ireland but an imaginary support for his or their own interest; and that they who with much difficulty had destroyed him would without any considerable opposition ruin their interest, and root out their religion with their nation from all the dominions which should be subjected to their exorbitant jurisdiction. How much of this hath proved [a] prophecy, their sad experience knows, and the world cannot but take notice of.

14 When the commissioners returned to Ireland, most of them performed their promises and engagements to the king very faithfully; and by the informations they gave to the supreme council, and by their counsel, interest, and advice, they prevailed so far, that the nobility and gentry, and all men of considerable fortunes, with such of the secular and regular clergy who were most eminent for piety and the practice of religious duties, were convinced of the necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the king, upon such terms, for the present, as his majesty had graciously offered to their commissioners, and upon the confidence of other graces when he might more seasonably vouchsafe them; and that no time should be lost in perfecting the pacification, and in proceeding the most effectually towards their assisting the king in England: but the evil genius of that people quickly banished this blessed temper, and manifested to the world how unripe they were for that blessing. They who valued themselves upon their interest and dependences, and whose credit and reputation had corrupted multitudes to swerve from their public duty to the king out of their private devotion and subjection to them, found it now an easier

matter to pervert and mislead popular affections than to reduce them, and that they could no more allay the spirits they had conjured up than they could command the seas or the wind. The nobility, and men of known fortunes, had lost their power; and the most factious, ignorant, and violent part of the clergy had such an influence upon the common people, that they only obeyed their dictates, and with them opposed all those conclusions, which, according to wisdom and true policy, were to be the ingredients of a happy and lasting peace: and so above two years were spent, after the commissioners' departure from the king, in fruitless and ineffectual treaties, whilst the strength and power of the rebels in England exceedingly increased, and his majesty's forces were defeated; and himself, for want of the succour he expected, and which he was promised out of Ireland, was compelled to deliver himself up to his Scotch subjects, and was shortly after by them delivered to the rebels of England, by whom he was in the end, with all those circumstances of horror and barbarity, murdered in the sight of the sun.

15 After all these unhappy and pernicious delays, the general assembly of the confederate catholics, which consisted of all the peers of that party, of all the bishops, and of gentlemen and burgesses of corporation towns, (which was as lively a representative of the whole nation as they could make,) towards the end of the year 1645, appointed and authorized a select number of that body of persons of eminent quality and the most eminent abilities, and such as throughout all the troubles had been employed and intrusted by them in the places and offices of the highest trust and concernment, to treat and conclude with the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant of that kingdom, a firm and full peace; whereupon all the particulars which might concern the interest and security of either party being maturely weighed and considered, and then every article being first read,

debated, and approved in the general assembly, without one dissenting voice, the whole was concluded, and the confederate catholics obliged to transport within a very short time an army of ten thousand men into England, for the service and relief of the king: and, all things thus stated and settled, the commissioners who had treated the peace were sent, by and in the name of the assembly, to Dublin, where the lord lieutenant resided, to sign the said articles, and to receive his lordship's confirmation of them: and accordingly the articles were there, in the beginning of the year 1646, interchangeably signed and perfected, with all formalities requisite; and shortly after were, with all solemnity and ceremony, published and proclaimed by the king at arms at Dublin and at Kilkenny, where the supreme council and all the assemblies of the confederate catholics were held, and then printed by their authority; the archbishop of Fermo, then the pope's nuncio, with the catholics in Ireland, manifesting his approbation of all that had been done, by giving his blessing to the commissioners when they were sent to Dublin to conclude the treaty, and other ministers from foreign princes being present, consenting to and witnessing the conclusion: so that the marquis, having performed all on his part that could be expected from him, or was in his power to do, and having received from the other party all the assurance he could require, there being no other way of engaging the public faith of the nation than that in which they had so formally engaged themselves to him, intended nothing but how his majesty might speedily receive some fruit of that peace and accommodation, by the sending assistance to him; and to that purpose, with the advice and upon the invitation of several persons who had had great authority and power amongst the confederate catholics, he took a journey himself to Kilkenny, where he was received with that respect and reverence as was due to his person and to

the place he held, and with such expressions of triumph and joy as gave him cause to believe that people were glad to be again received into his majesty's protection. But this sunshine of hope and union quickly vanished, and the old clouds of jealousy and sedition began again to cover the land. The pope's nuncio, and the titular bishops who depended on him, envied that nation the happiness and the glory they foresaw it would be possessed of by the execution of that agreement; and so, without any colour of authority, either by the old established laws of the kingdom, or those new rules which they had prescribed to themselves since the rebellion, they convened a congregation of the clergy at Waterford, (a town most at their devotion,) where this titular bishop of Fernes was in the chair, and presided: and therefore it will not be amiss to take a short view of their proceedings, that unhappy, oppressed, miserable Ireland may clearly discern to whom they owe those pressures and calamities they are now overwhelmed with; and whether that bishop be to be reckoned in the number of those who suffer at present for his zeal to religion, his allegiance to his king, and his affection to his country, or whether his name is to be inserted in that catalogue which must derive to posterity the authors and fomenters of so odious and causeless a rebellion, in which such a sea of blood hath been let out, and the betrayers of the honour and faith of that country and nation, and who are no less guilty of the extirpation of religion in that catholic kingdom, than Ireton or Cromwell, or that impious power under which they have perpetrated all their acts of blood, cruelty, and desolation.

16 This congregation of the clergy no sooner assembled, than (instead of prescribing acts of humiliation and repentance to the people, for the ill they had formerly done, and of inflaming their hearts with new zeal, and infusing a pious courage into them, to relieve and

succour the king from those rebels who oppressed him, according to their particular obligation by their late agreement, which had been the proper office of prelates and a Christian clergy) they began to inveigh against the peace which themselves had so lately approved and so formally consented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the advancement of religion; would not suffer it to be proclaimed in Waterford; and sent their emissaries and their orders into all the considerable towns and cities, to incense the people against it, and against those who wished it should take effect; insomuch as, when the king at arms was proclaiming the peace at Limerick, with that solemnity and ceremony as in such cases is used throughout the world, with his coat of arms, the ensign of his office, upon him, and accompanied with the mayor and aldermen, and the most substantial of the citizens in their robes, and with all the ensigns of magistracy and authority, one Wolfe, a seditious friar, stirred up the multitude against them, which being led on by one Fanning, a person notorious for many outrages and acts of blood and inhumanity in the beginning of the rebellion, violently assaulted them; and, after many opprobrious speeches, in contempt of the peace and the authority of the king, and tearing off the coat from the herald, beat and wounded him and many of the magistrates of the city, and some of them almost to death. And lest all this might be excused, and charitably interpreted to be the effect of a popular and tumultuous insurrection, the lawful mayor, and the other principal officers who assisted him in the discharge of his duty, were immediately displaced, and Fanning, the infamous conductor of that rabble, made mayor in his place, who, by letters from the nuncio, was thanked for what he had done, encouraged to proceed in the same way, and had the apostolical benediction bestowed on him for committing such an outrage upon the privileged person of a

herald, who in the name of the king came to proclaim peace, as by the law of nations must have been adjudged barbarous and unpardonable, in any part of the world where civility is planted, if he had come to have denounced war: and yet all this while the design itself was carried with so great secrecy, that the lord lieutenant (proceeding in his progress for the settling and composing the humours of the people, which he understood to be in some disorder by the infusions of the ill affected clergy) never heard of any force of arms to second and support those mutinous disorders, till, being near unto the city of Cashel, he was advertised by a letter from the mayor that Owen O'Neal's army was marching that way, and had sent terrible threats to that city if it presumed to receive the lord lieutenant: and shortly after he found that Owen O'Neal used all possible expedition to get between him and Dublin, that so he might have been able to have surprised and destroyed him. Whereupon the marquis found it necessary to lose no time in returning thither; yet resolved not only to contain himself from any act of hostility, but even from those trespasses which are hardly avoided upon marches; and so paid precisely for whatsoever was taken from the inhabitants throughout all the catholic quarters, presuming that those persons of honour who had transacted the treaty would have been able to have caused the peace to be observed in despite of those clamorous undertakers.

17 When the unchristian congregation at Waterford had made this essay of their power and jurisdiction, they made all possible haste to propagate their authority, and declared the peace to be void, and inhibited all persons to submit thereunto, or to pay any taxes, impositions, or contributions, which had been settled by the said agreement; and without which neither the standing army (which was to be applied to the reduction of those towns

and provinces which had put themselves under the protection of the rebels of England, and neither submitted to the former cessation nor would be now comprehended in the peace) could be supported, nor the ten thousand men could be raised to be transported into England for the succour of the king, as had been so religiously undertaken. Which injunction of theirs the people too readily obeyed and submitted to. Then they committed and delegated the entire and absolute power of governing and commanding, as well in secular as ecclesiastical matters, to the pope's nuncio, who began his empire with committing to prison the commissioners who had been instrumental in the treaty, and making of the peace by the order of the general assembly, and issued out an excommunication against all who had or should submit to the peace, which comprehended all the nobility, and almost all the gentry of the nation, and very many of the most learned and pious clergy, as well regular as secular: which excommunication wrought so universally upon the minds of the people, that albeit all persons of honour and quality received infinite scandal, and well foresaw the irreparable damage religion itself would undergo by that unwarrantable proceeding, and used their utmost power to draw the people to obedience and submission to the said agreement; and to that purpose prevailed so far with general Preston, that he gave them reason to hope that he would join with them for the vindication of the public faith and honour of the nation, and compel those who opposed it to submit to the peace; yet all those endeavours produced no effects, but concluded in unprofitable resentments and lamentations.

18 In the mean time, Owen O'Neal (when he found himself disappointed of his design to have cut off the lord lieutenant before he should reach Dublin) entered into the Queen's County with his army, and committed all the acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; took

many castles and forts belonging to the king, and put all who resisted to the sword; and his officers, in cold blood, caused others to be murdered to whom they had promised quarter, as major Piggott, and others of his family; and shortly after, the nuncio prevailed so much, that he united general Preston with his army likewise to his purposes, and then himself, as generalissimo, led both armies towards Dublin; where the lieutenant was so surprised with their perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less straits and distresses from his friends within than from his enemies without, who totally neglected those forces, which being under the obedience of the English rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody war with them, and at present made inroads into their quarters, to their great damage, and entirely engaged themselves totally to suppress the king's authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

19 Lest so prodigious an alteration as is here set forth may seem to be wrapped up in too short a discourse, and it may appear almost incredible that an agreement so deliberately and solemnly entered into by the whole nobility and gentry of the nation, in a matter that so entirely concerned their interest, should in such an instant be blasted and annihilated by a congregation of the clergy, assembled only by their own authority, and therefore, without the vice of curiosity, all men may desire to be informed by what degrees and method that congregation proceeded, and what specious pretences and insinuations they used towards the people for the better persuading them to depart from that peace and tranquillity they were again even restored to and possessed of; it will be the less impertinent to set down some important particulars of their proceedings, and the very forms of some instruments published by them, that the world may see the logic and the rhetoric that was used to impose upon and delude that unhappy undiscerning

people, and to entangle them in that labyrinth of confusion in which they are still involved.

20 They were not contented not to suffer the peace to be proclaimed in Waterford, and to dissuade the people from submitting to it, but by a decree, dated upon the 12th day of August, 1646, which they commanded to be published in all places in the English and Irish tongue, they declared, by the unanimous consent and votes of all, none contradicting, (as they said,) that all and singular the confederate catholics, who should adhere or consent to that peace or to the fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be held absolutely perjured ; especially for this cause, that in those articles there is no mention made of the catholic religion, or the security thereof, nor any care had for conservation of the privileges of the country, as had been promised in an oath formerly taken by them, but rather all things were referred unto the pleasure of the most renowned king, from whom, in his present state, they said, nothing of certainty could be had ; and in the interim, armies and arms and forts, and even the supreme council of the confederate catholics, are subjected to the authority and rule of the council, state, and protestant officers of his majesty, from whom, that they might be made secure, they had taken that oath ; and the next day, being informed that the lord viscount Mountgarrett and the lord viscount Muskerry were appointed by the supreme council at Kilkenny to go to Dublin, to confer with the lord lieutenant upon the best ways to be pursued for the execution and observation of the peace, they made an order in writing, in which were these words :

21 " We insisting on, and prosecuting the decree made yesterday, whereby all confederates, embracing and adhering to the former peace, are declared perjurors : By these presents, we admonish in our lord, and require the persons who are deputed for Dublin, that they forbear and abstain from going thither for

the said end; or if they be gone, that they return; and this under pain of excommunication; commanding the right honourable bishop of Ossory, and other bishops, as well assembled as not assembled here, and their vicars generals, as also vicars apostolique, and all priests, even regulars, that they intimate these presents, or cause to be intimated, even by affixing them in public places, and that they proceed against the disobedient, to the denouncing of the excommunication, as it shall seem expedient in our lord."

22 When the supreme council (notwithstanding these new orders and injunctions) continued still their desire to observe the peace, the titular bishop of Ossory published this extraordinary writing :

23 "Whereas we have, in public and private meetings, at several times declared to the supreme council, and to others whom it might concern, that it was and is unlawful, and against conscience, yea implying perjury, (as it hath been defined by a special act of the convocation now at Waterford,) to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation or countenancing of the publication of this unconscionable and mischievous peace, so dangerous (as it is now articed) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal, but more particularly to the spiritual: and whereas, notwithstanding our declaration (yea, the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom) to the contrary, the supreme council and commissioners have actually proceeded to the proclamation of it, yea, and forced it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people: we having duly considered and taken to heart, as it becometh, how enormous this fact both is and appears in catholics, even against God himself, and what public contempt of the holy church it appeareth, besides the evils it is like to draw on this poor kingdom; after mature deliberation and consent of our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the supreme council, and others who adhere unto them in a matter of conscience towards holy church, and in hatred of so wilful and abominable an act, do by these presents, according to the prescription of sacred canons, pronounce and command, henceforth, a general cessation of divine offices throughout all

the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, and monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.

“ Given at our palace of Nova Curia, Aug. 18, 1646.

“ Signed, *David Ossoriensis.*”

24 This extravagant proceeding did not yet terrify those of the confederate catholics who understood how necessary the observation of the peace was for the preservation of the nation; but as they desired the lord lieutenant to forbear all acts of hostility, upon how unreasonable provocations soever, so they sent two persons of the supreme council (sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Fennell) to the congregation at Waterford, to dispose them to a better temper, and to find out some expedients which might compose the minds of the people, and prevent those calamities that would unavoidably fall upon the nation, upon their declining or renouncing the peace: but after they had attended several days, and offered many reasons and considerations to them, the congregation put a period to all hopes and consultations of that nature by issuing out a decree of excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this form and these words, and with these marginal notes: *By John Baptist Ranuccini, archbishop and prince of Firmo, and by the ecclesiastical congregation of both clergies of the kingdom of Ireland.*

25 *A decree of excommunication against such as adhere to the late peace, and do bear arms for the heretics of Ireland, or do aid or assist them.*

“ Not without cause (saith the Oracle of Truth) doth the minister of God carry the sword, for he is to punish him that doth evil, and remunerate him that doth good: hence it is, that we have, by our former decrees, declared to the world our sense and just indignation against the late peace, concluded and published at Dublin; not only in its own nature bringing prejudice

and destruction on religion and kingdom, but being also contrary to the oath of association, and withal against the contrivers of and adherents to the said peace; in pursuance of which decrees, being forced to unsheathe the spiritual sword, we (to whom God hath given power to bind and loose on earth) assembled together in the Holy Ghost, tracing herein the steps, and imitating the examples of many venerable and holy prelates who have gone before us, and taking for our authority the sacred canons of holy church, grounded on holy writ, *ut tollantur e medio nostrum qui hoc opus faciunt, do, cum virtute Domini nostri Jesu,* deliver over such persons to Satan, (that is to say,) we excommunicate, execrate, and anathematize all such, as after publication of this our decree and notice, either privately or publicly given them hereof, shall defend, adhere, or approve the justice of the said peace; and chiefly those who shall bear arms, or make or join in war, with, for, or in the behalf of the puritans or other heretics of Dublin, Cork, Youghall, or of other places within this kingdom; or shall, either by themselves or their appointment, bring, send, or give any aid, succour, or relief, of victuals, ammunition, or other provision unto them; or by advice, or otherwise, advance the said peace, or the war made against us; those and every of them, by this present decree, we do declare and pronounce excommunicated *ipso facto, ut non circumveniamur a Satana, non enim ignoramus cogitationes ejus.* Dated at Kilkenny in the palace of our residence the 5th day of October, 1646. Signed, *Johannes Baptista archiepiscopus Fermanus, nuncius apostolicus de mandato illustrissimi Domini nuncii et congregationis ecclesiastice utriusque cleri regni Hiberniae, Nicolaus Fernensis episcopus congregationis cancellarius.*"

26 And having thus fortified themselves, the nuncio, as generalissimo, made all preparations to march with the two armies towards Dublin, which consisting of near sixteen thousand foot, and as many hundred horse, he believed, or seemed to believe, would take the town by assault, as soon as he should appear before it; and in this confidence, (that we may not interrupt the series of this discourse by any intervening actions,) when the armies were within a day's march of the city, the two generals

sent this letter, with the propositions annexed, to the lord lieutenant :

27 “*May it please your excellency,*

“ By the commands of the confederate catholics of this kingdom, we offer the enclosed propositions. We have under our leading two armies ; our thoughts are the best to our religion, king, and country ; our ends, to establish the first, and make the two following secure and happy. It is a great part of our care and desires to purchase your excellency to the effecting of so blessed a work : we do not desire the effusion of blood, and to that purpose the enclosed propositions are sent from us. We pray to God, your consideration of them may prove fruitful. We are commanded to pray your excellency to render an answer unto them by two of the clock in the afternoon on Thursday next. Be it war or peace, we shall endeavour in our ways to express faith and honour ; and upon this thought we rest your excellency’s most humble servants,

From our camp,
2 Nov. 1646.

“ JOHN PRESTON,
“ OWEN O’NEAL.”

28 *Propositions from the council of the confederate catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, offered to the lord marquis of Ormond’s excellency his majesty’s lieutenant, for and in the behalf of the confederate Roman catholics of the said kingdom, signed by the generals of Leinster and Ulster at their camp the second day of November 1646.*

“ I. That the exercise of the Roman catholic religion be in Dublin, Drogheda, and in all the kingdom of Ireland, as free and public as it is now in Paris in France, or Bruxelles in the Low Countries.

“ II. That the council of state, called ordinarily the council-table, be of members true and faithful to his majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion to go to the parliament party.

“ III. That Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford, and all the garrisons within the protestant quarters, be garrisoned by the confederate catholics, to maintain and keep the said cities and places for the use of our sovereign lord king

Charles, and his lawful successors, and for the defence of this kingdom of Ireland.

“ IV. That the present council of the confederates shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the use of his majesty and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said kingdom of Ireland, the above cities of Dublin and Drogheda, and all other forts, places, and castles as above.

“ V. That the said council, and all generals, officers, and soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by sea and land against the parliamentaries and all the king’s enemies ; and that they will never come to any convention, agreement, or articles with the said parliamentaries, or any the king’s enemies, to the prejudice of his majesty’s rights, or of this kingdom of Ireland.

“ VI. That, according to our oath of association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the king’s rights, and lives and fortunes of the subjects.

“ His excellency is prayed to make answer to the above propositions at furthest by two of the clock in the afternoon on Thursday next.

“ JOHN PRESTON,
“ OWEN O’NEAL.”

29 Let all dispassionate men now consider what could the marquis do ; his quarters were so strait and narrow, that they could yield no support to the few forces he had yet left, all his garrisons besieged without an enemy, being destitute of all provisions within, and blocked up at sea by the rebels’ ships, which kept all manner of trade and supplies from them that way. All the army he had for field and garrisons amounted not to five thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, without clothes, money, or fixed arms, and with so inconsiderable a store of ammunition, that when the nuncio was upon his march, with both the Irish generals, and their united powers, towards Dublin, he had not in that most important city, the metropolis of the kingdom, more than fourteen barrels of powder ; not only the inhabitants, but soldiers themselves grew impatient of the dis-

tresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall upon them ; and they who had before presumed in corners and whispers to tax the marquis of not being jealous enough of the English interest, and too credulous of what was promised and undertaken by the Irish, had the boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combined with the Irish to put all into their hands. They who had from the beginning of the troubles been most firm and unshaken in their duty and loyalty to the king, and cheerfully suffered great losses, and undergone great hazards for being so, and been of the most constant affection to and confidence in the marquis, and resolved to obey him in whatsoever he should ordain for the king's service, for the conducting whereof he was solely and entirely trusted by his majesty, could not yet endure to think of being put into or falling under the power of the Irish, who by this new breach of faith had made themselves utterly incapable of any future trust : for what security could they possibly give upon any future treaty for the performance of contract, which they had not lately given for the observation of that which so infamously they had receded from ? So that as there wanted not some within the city, and of the soldiers, who undertook to surprise the castle, and to seize upon the person of the lord lieutenant, and to deliver both to the English rebels, and had so near executed that design, that they had in a morning surprised the guard, and were possessed of the principal port of the castle ; so the rest did so much prefer the subjection to the English rebels, (who then pretended a resolution to return to their obedience to the king, and were upon treaties to that end,) before submitting to the Irish, that the marquis had not power enough to proceed upon that conspiracy with the severity that was necessary, lest too many might be found involved in that guilt, and some of too much interest and credit to be brought to justice ;

hereupon he found it absolutely necessary to make show of inclining to the English, and sent to the ships then riding in the bay of Dublin, that they would transport some commissioners from him to the parliament to treat about the surrender of that city, and the other garrisons under his command ; which proposition was most greedily embraced by them, and the persons deputed accordingly convoyed to England. By this means the marquis was forthwith supplied with a considerable proportion of powder, which the captain of those ships delivered to him, and without which he could have made no defence against the nuncio ; and hereby the Irish had a fair warning of bethinking themselves in time of returning to their duty; since they might discern, that, if they would not suffer Dublin to continue in the king's obedience, it should be delivered to them who would deal less graciously with them, and who had power enough to punish those indignities which had been offered ; and the marquis was still without other engagement, than to do what he should judge most conducing to his master's service.

30 This last consideration made that impression upon them, that when they saw the ships returned from England with supplies of soldiers, money, and great store of provisions, and commissioners to treat with the marquis for the putting all into their hands, the Irish seemed less united amongst themselves, and desirous to make conditions with the lord lieutenant : and general Preston with his officers frankly entered into a treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard, whom the lord lieutenant authorized to that end ; and with deep and solemn oaths undertook and promised to stand to the peace, and from thenceforth to be obedient to his majesty's authority, and to join with the marquis of Ormond against all those who should refuse to submit to the same. On the other side, the commissioners from the two houses of parliament, who were admitted into Dublin to treat with the lord lieute-

nant, observing the very ill condition the town was in, besieged by two strong armies, by whom they within expected every hour to be assaulted, concluded that the want of food, and all necessaries for defence, would compel the marquis, with the importunity and clamour of the inhabitants and soldiers, to receive the supplies of men, money, and victuals (which they had brought) upon any terms ; and therefore insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant demands, and refused to consent that the marquis should send any messenger to the king, to the end that, upon information how the case stood, he might receive his majesty's direction what to do, and without which he was always resolved not to proceed to any conjunction with them ; and so had privately despatched several expresses to the king, (as soon as he discerned clearly that the Irish were so terrified by the nuncio and his excommunication that there was little hope of good from them,) with a full information of the state of affairs, and expected every day the return of some of the said messengers with the signification of his majesty's pleasure. All things being in this posture, the commissioners from the two houses returned again to their ships, and carried back all the supplies they had brought to the parliament garrisons in the province of Ulster, being so much the more incensed against the lord lieutenant for declining an entire union with them, and inclining (as they saw he did) to a new confidence in the Irish.

31 The marquis of Clanrickard had an entire trust from the lord lieutenant, as a person superior to all temptations which might endeavour to lessen or divert his affection and integrity to the king, and his zeal to the Roman catholic religion, in which he had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adhered, was as unquestionable. He had taken very great pains to render that peace which had been so long in consultation effectual to the nation, and had very frankly, both by

discourse and writing, endeavoured to dissuade the nuncio from prosecuting those rough ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the nation and dishonour the catholic religion. He found general Preston and the officers of his army less transported with passion and a blind submission to the authority of the nuncio than the other, and that they professed great duty and obedience to the king, and that they seemed to have been wrought upon by two conclusions which had been infused into them; the one, that the lord lieutenant was so great an enemy to their religion, that, though they should obtain any concessions from the king to their advantage in that particular, he would oppose, and not consent to the same; the other, that the king was now in the hands of the Scots, who were not like to approve the peace that had been made, (all that nation in Ulster refusing to submit to it,) and that, if they should be able to procure any order from his majesty to disavow it, the lord lieutenant would undoubtedly obey any such order. These specious infusions the marquis of Clanrickard endeavoured to remove, and undertook upon his honour to use all the power and interest he had with the king, queen, and prince, on the behalf of the Roman catholics, and to procure them such privileges and liberty for the free exercise of their religion as they could reasonably expect; and he undertook that the lord licutenant would acquiesce with such directions as he should receive therein, without contradiction, or endeavour to do ill offices to the catholics. And he further promised, that if any orders should be procured from the king, during the restraint he was then in, to the disadvantage of the confederate catholics, he would suspend any obedience thereunto, until such time as his majesty should be at liberty, and might receive full information on their behalf. And upon the marquis of Clanrickard's positive undertaking those particulars, and the lord lieutenant

having ratified and confirmed all that the marquis had engaged himself for, general Preston, together with all the principal officers under his command, signed this ensuing engagement :

32 " We the general, nobility, and officers of the confederate catholic forces, whose names are underwritten, do solemnly bind and engage ourselves, by the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers, and by sacred protestation upon the faith of catholics in the presence of Almighty God, both for ourselves, and (as much as in us lies) for all persons that are or shall be under our command, that we will, from the date hereof, henceforward, submit, and conform ourselves entirely and sincerely unto the peace concluded and proclaimed by his majesty's lieutenant, with such additional concessions and securities, as the right honourable Ulick lord marquis of Clanrickard hath undertaken to procure and secure unto us, in such manner and upon such terms as is expressed in his lordship's undertaking and protestation of the same date, hercunto annexed, and signed by himself : and we do, upon his lordship's said undertaking, solemnly engage ourselves, by the bonds of honour and conscience abovesaid, to yield entire obedience to his majesty, and his lieutenant general, and general governor of this kingdom, and to all deriving authority from them by commission, to command us in our several degrees ; and that, according to such orders as we shall receive from them, faithfully to serve his majesty against all his enemies or rebels, as well within this kingdom as in any other part of his dominions, and against all persons that shall not join with us upon these terms in submission to the peace of this kingdom and to his majesty's authority. And we do further engage ourselves, under the said solemn bonds, that we will never, either directly or indirectly, make use of any advantage or power, wherewith we shall be trusted, to the obliging of his majesty or his ministers, by any kind of force, to grant unto us any thing beyond the said marquis of Clanrickard's undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his majesty's own free goodness for what further graces and favours he shall be graciously pleased to confer upon his faithful catholic subjects in this kingdom, according to their obedience and merit in his service. And we do further protest, that we shall never esteem ourselves discharged from this engagement by any power or authority

whatsoever, provided, on both parts, that this engagement and undertaking be not understood or extended to debar or hinder his majesty's catholic subjects of this kingdom from the benefit of any further graces and favours which his majesty may be graciously induced to concede unto them upon the queen's majesty's mediation, or any other treaty abroad."

33 This was done about the end of November, 1646; the nuncio, with the other army under Owen O'Neal, having been about the same time compelled to raise their siege, and to retire for want of provisions. Hereupon the marquis of Clanrickard was made by the lord lieutenant lieutenant general of the army, and was accordingly received as such by general Preston, his army being drawn in battalia; and general Preston, at the same time, received a commission from the lord lieutenant to command as sergeant major general, and immediately under the marquis of Clanrickard: and shortly after, general Preston desired the lord lieutenant to march, with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons, towards Kilkenny, where he promised to meet him with his army; that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the peace.

34 When the marquis was come within less than a day's march of the place assigned by general Preston for their meeting and joining their forces together, the marquis of Clanrickard, who attended on the lord lieutenant, received a letter from Preston to this effect:

35 That his officers, not being excommunication proof, were fallen from him to the nuncio's party, and therefore he wished the lord lieutenant would proceed no further, but to expect the issue of a general assembly that would be shortly convened at Kilkenny, where he doubted not but things would be set right by the consent of the whole kingdom; which, he said, would be much better for his majesty's service, than to attempt the forcing a peace upon those who were averse to it.

36 Upon this new violation of faith, the marquis was compelled, after some weeks' stay in the enemy's quarters, to return again to Dublin; where the commissioners, who had been lately there from the two houses of parliament, had sowed such seeds of jealousy and discontent, and the treacherous and perfidious carriage of the Irish had awakened them to such terrible apprehensions, that the inhabitants refused to contribute further to the payment and support of the army; and, in truth, were so far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverished by their total want and decay of traffick and commerce, that they were not able much longer to contribute: so that the marquis was forced, in the cold and wet winter, to draw out his half starved and half naked troops, only to live in the enemy's quarters; where yet he would suffer no acts of hostility to be committed, nor any thing else to be taken but victual for the subsistence of his men: and in this uneasy posture he resolved to expect the result of the new general assembly, which he supposed could not be so constituted but that it would abhor the violations of the former contracts and agreements, and the inexcusable presumption and proceedings of the congregation of the clergy at Waterford; and that it would vindicate the honour and faith of the nation from the reproaches it lay under, and from the exorbitant and extravagant jurisdiction which the nuncio had assumed a power to himself to exercise over the kingdom: but he quickly found himself again disappointed; and to the universal wonder of all, the new assembly published a declaration of a very new nature. For, whereas the nuncio and his council had committed to prison those noblemen and gentlemen who had been the commissioners in treating and concluding the peace, and had given out threats and menaces that they should lose their heads for their transgression, the assembly presently set them at liberty, and declared that the

said commissioners and council had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in their said negotiation pursuant and according to the trust reposed in them, and yet in the very same declaration declared that they might not accept of nor submit to the said peace; and did thereby protest against it, and did declare the same invalid, and of no force, to all intents and purposes; and did further declare, that the nation would not accept of any peace not containing sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the said confederate catholics: and what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, &c. appeared by the propositions published before by the congregation at Waterford, which they had caused the people to swear that they would insist upon; and which, instead of providing a toleration of the Romish catholic religion, had, in truth, provided for the extirpation of the protestant, when they should think fit to put the same in execution. Nor was the only argument and excuse which they published for these proceedings more reasonable than the proceedings themselves, which was, that the concessions and promises made to them by the earl of Glamorgan were much larger, and a greater security for their religion, than those consented to by the marquis: whereas, in truth, those concessions and promises made by the earl were discovered and disavowed by the lord lieutenant before the conclusion of the peace, and the earl committed to prison for his presumption; which, though it produced some interruption in the treaty, yet was the same afterwards resumed, and the peace concluded and proclaimed upon the articles formerly mentioned: so that the allegation of what had been undertaken by the earl of Glamorgan can be no excuse for their violating the agreement afterwards concluded with the marquis.

37 This last wonderful act put a period to all the hopes

of the marquis, which his charity and compassion to the kingdom and nation, and his discerning spirit what inevitable ruin and destruction both must undergo from that distemper of mind that possessed them, had so long kept up even against his experience and judgment; and they, whose natures, dispositions, and interests made them most averse from the rebels of England, grew more affrighted at the thought of falling under the power of the Irish: so that all persons, of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had dislikes and jealousies enough towards each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinion against the confederates. The council of state besought the lord lieutenant to consider whether it were possible to have any better security from them for the performance of any other agreement he should make, than he had for the performance of that which they now receded from and disclaimed; and since the spring was then coming on, whereby the number, power, and strength of their enemies would be increased on all sides, and their hopes of succours or relief for themselves was desperate, and so that it would be only in his election into whose power he would put those who had deserved as well from his majesty, by doing and by suffering, as subjects could do—into the hands of the English, who could not deny them protection and justice, or of the Irish, who had not only depoiled them of all their fortunes, and persecuted them with all animosity and cruelty, but declared by their late carriage that they were not capable of security under them—they entreated him to send again to the houses of parliament, and make some agreement with them, which would probably be for their preservation; whereas with the other, [whatever could be done] was evident for their destruction.

38 That which, amongst other things of importance, made a deep impression in the marquis, was the knowledge,

that there had been, from the beginning of these troubles, a design in the principal contrivers of them entirely to alienate the kingdom of Ireland from the crown of England; to extirpate not only the protestants, but all the catholics who were descended from the English, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old Irish than the others; and to put themselves into the protection of some foreign prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some one of the old families: and how wild and extravagant soever this attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard that not only all the catholics of English extraction, (who were in quality and fortunes much superior to the other,) but many noble and much the best and greatest families of the ancient Irish, perfectly abhorred and abominated the same; yet it was apparent, that the violent part of the clergy that now governed had really that intention, and never intended more to submit to the king's authority, whosoever should be intrusted with it; and it had been proposed in the last assembly, by Mr. Anthony Martin and others, that they should call in some foreign prince for their protection; and the exorbitant power assumed by the nuncio was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the king, and gave no less umbrage, offence, and scandal to the catholics of honour and discretion, than it incensed those who bore no kind of reverence to the bishop of Rome.

39 Upon this consideration, the marquis believed it much more prudent, and agreeable to the trust reposed in him, to deposit the king's interest and right of the crown in the hands of the lords and commons of England, who still made great professions of duty and subjection to his majesty, and from whom (how rebellious soever their present actions were) it must probably revert to the crown, by treaty or otherwise, in a short time, than to trust it with the Irish, from whom less than a very charge-

able war would never recover it, in what state soever the affairs of England should be; and how lasting and bloody and costly that war might prove, by the intermeddling and pretences of foreign princes, was not hard to conclude.

4^o Whilst the marquis was in this consultation and deliberation, he received information that the king was delivered by the Scots to commissioners of the two houses of parliament, who were then treating with him for the settling a peace in all his dominions; and at the same time a person of quality arrived at Dublin, having been privately despatched by his majesty with the signification of his majesty's pleasure, upon the advertisements he had received of the condition of Ireland, to this purpose; that if it were possible for the marquis to keep Dublin and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty they were then in, it would be most acceptable to his majesty; but if there were, or should be, a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English than of the Irish; which was the rule the marquis was to guide himself by; who had likewise another very important consideration, which if all the rest had been away had been enough to have inclined him to that resolution.

4¹ The king was now in the hands and power of those who had raised the war against him, principally upon the credit of those reproaches and scandals they had persuaded the people to believe of his inclining to popery, and of his contriving, or at least countenancing the rebellion in Ireland, in which so much protestant blood had been so wantonly and cruelly let out. The cessation formerly made and continued with those rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into and observed, had been the most unpopular act the king had ever done, and had wonderfully contributed to the

reputation of the two houses of parliament: if, according to the general opinion then current, there should a peace ensue between the king and them, as most men conceived (the king's forces being totally suppressed) there must be, though by his condescending to many grants, which they ought not in duty to demand, (for few men suspected such prodigious wickedness to be in their purposes as was afterwards executed,) his majesty would lose nothing by the parliament's being possessed of Dublin and those other towns then in the disposal of the lieutenant: on the contrary, if they indeed intended to pursue his majesty with continued and new reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his subjects that they might with the more facility and applause execute their horrible conspiracy against his life, there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his majesty as the surrendering Dublin to the Irish confederates, which, being done by the king's lieutenant, who was known so punctually devoted to his obedience, would be easily interpreted to be by his majesty's direction, and so made a confirmation of all they had published of that kind; and, amongst the ignorant seduced people, might have been a countenance to, though nothing could be a justification of, their unparalleled wickedness.

42 Hereupon the marquis took a resolution, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the hands of the English, and to that purpose sent again to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, that he would surrender Dublin and the other garrisons under his power to them, upon the same conditions they had before offered; and they quickly despatched their ships with commissioners, men, and money, and all other provisions necessary, to take the same into their possession. The confederate catholics no sooner were informed of this, but they sent again to the lieutenant an overture of an accommodation, as they called it; yet the mes-

sengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest indeed, by accepting what they proposed, they might be obliged to a conjunction, that they refused to give their propositions in writing; and when, upon their discourse, the lord lieutenant had writ what they had propounded, and shewed it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refused to sign it; whereby it was very natural to conclude that the overture was made by them only to lay some imputation upon the marquis, of not being necessitated to agree with the houses of parliament, rather than with any purpose of submitting to the king's authority. At the last, being so far pressed, that they found it necessary to let the marquis know in plain terms what he was to trust to, they sent him a message in writing, in which they declared, that they must insist upon the propositions of the clergy formerly mentioned to be agreed at Waterford, and to which they had sworn; and that if he would have a cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any forces from the two houses of parliament in six or twelve months; not proposing in the mean time any way how his majesty's army should be maintained, but by a total submission to all their unreasonable demands.

43 Notwithstanding all which, the parliament failing to make that speedy performance of what they had promised, and the marquis having it thereby in his own power fairly to comply with the Irish, if they had yet recovered the temper and discretion that might justify him; he sent again to them, as well an answer to their overtures of accommodation, as an offer not to receive any forces from the two houses for the space of three weeks, if they would, during that time, consent to a cessation, that a full peace might be treated and agreed upon: to which motion they never vouchsafed to return any answer. About the same time, Owen O'Neal, wisely discerning that the nuncio, or the supreme council, did

not enough consider or foresee the evil consequences that would naturally attend the lord lieutenant's being compelled to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garrisons into the possession of the English rebels, sent his nephew, Daniel O'Neal, to the marquis, and offered by him, that if the marquis would accept of a cessation for two months, which he believed the assembly or supreme council would propose, (with what mind soever,) he would promise and undertake to continue it for a twelvemonth, and in that time he would use his utmost power to procure a peace.

44. Owen O'Neal was a man of a haughty and positive humour, and rather hard to be inclined to submit to reasonable conditions, than easy to decline them, or break his word when he had consented. Therefore the lord lieutenant presently returned in answer, that if he would give him his word to continue the cessation for a full year, he would accept it when proposed from the supreme council for two months, and he would in the mean time wave any further treaty with the parliament. But he sent him word, he would not hold himself by this promise longer than for fourteen days, if he did not in that time receive such a positive effect of his overture as he expected. Owen O'Neal accepted the condition, and with all possible haste despatched his nephew Daniel to the supreme council at Clonmell, with a letter containing his advice, and another to the bishop of Clogher, (his chief confident,) to whom he sent the reasons at large which ought to induce the nation to desire such a cessation. When the council received the letter, and knew that the lord lieutenant expected an answer within fourteen days, they resolved to return no answer till the fourteen days should be expired; and in the mean time committed Daniel O'Neal to prison, that he might not return to his uncle; and when the time was past, they released him, on condition that he should come no more into his

quarters: so that in the end, the commissioners from the two houses performing all that on their part was to be performed, the marquis delivered up Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands, and was transported, with his family, into England; where they admitted him to wait on the king, and to give his majesty an account of his transactions; who received him most graciously, as a servant who had merited highly from him, and fully approved of all that he had done.

45 Since, then, upon the most strict and impartial examination of these proceedings, malice itself cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the marquis, of want of that fidelity or discretion which was requisite to preserve his master's interest, or of an absence of singular affection and compassion towards a people who have the honour to be of the same nation with him, they endeavour, by dark and obscure expressions, to get it believed, that in the articles he made for the delivery of Dublin he intended his own particular benefit and advantage, and object to him, that he contracted to have thirteen thousand pounds paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same was paid by them and received by him accordingly; and so they would persuade the world, that a person who frankly exposed the greatest fortune and estate that any subject had to lose in either of the three kingdoms, and who, whilst he was possessed of any part of it, made all worthy men, in want, joint owners with him of it, could betray a trust for a vile sum of money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous bargain in public, and insert it in the articles which were to be viewed and censured by all men, whereas it might have been as easy to have driven that traffick with such secrecy that it could never have been discovered, if he had meant it should be secret. And therefore, how impertinent soever this discourse may appear to those who (knowing the impossibility of the scandal) think any thing like a vindi-

cation to give too much honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole matter, that the malice and indiscretion of the calumniators may be the more evident, which was as followeth :

46 When the confederate Irish so totally violated and disclaimed the peace which had been with all that solemnity agreed and entered into, and were preparing to unite all their armies under an entire obedience to the nuncio, that they might in an instant seize upon Dublin, and the few other garrisons where the king's authority was submitted to and preserved, the necessities and straits the lord lieutenant was then in are before mentioned and remembered. The fortifications and works were in most places too weak to keep out an enemy ; no magazines of victual to endure a siege ; not ammunition enough to resist and oppose an assault ; no money to retain the soldiers from mutiny till he might obtain relief from England, (which he saw he should be compelled to desire;) there was no way to prevent a fatal issue from these distresses but the procuring a present supply of money, which might in some degree provide for each extremity : and for the compassing hereof, the marquis brought in all his own money, which, upon the sale and mortgaging of several parcels of his estate, he had raised for the support of himself and his family, and became likewise himself bound to other persons for considerable sums, with an express promise, upon his honour, that whatever course he should be compelled to take, and if he should be forced to deliver Dublin into the hands of the parliament, (which was the most visible remedy all men foresaw would in case of necessity be laid hold on,) he would make such conditions for the repayment of the money that upon that occasion should be lent, that he would not himself quit the place till it was performed : and by this means alone, and upon these terms, he procured so much money as composed the present distemper

of the soldier, and supplied those wants which could not be borne.

47 This was so public an engagement, that no man was ignorant of it, insomuch that before the first overture for a treaty was sent to the parliament, the privy council, after they had in vain advised the lord lieutenant to demand all that he had disbursed upon the public service, and what he had been hindered from receiving of his own rents, by those who commanded under the parliament and in their quarters, and which the marquis refused to do, appointed sir James Ware, auditor general to his majesty, and one of the privy council, to examine the accounts of those disbursements which had been laid out upon the garrisons, and borrowed or disbursed upon the conditions aforesaid ; and upon his certificate, the lords of the council declared, by an instrument under their hands, that the same amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred pounds thirteen shillings and four pence ; a duplicate of which instrument was sent with those gentlemen who were first sent to demand a treaty ; and the commissioners, who came first to Dublin, frankly, and without dispute, consented to pay the same : so that if that sum of money had been the consideration of delivering the town, it would not have been kept so long after. When he was the second time necessitated to send to the parliament, and offered to put the town into their hands upon the conditions before consented to by them, he demanded that eight hundred pounds of the said money might presently be paid in England to persons intrusted by him, three thousand pounds at Dublin before the delivery of the town, towards the satisfaction of what had been borrowed as aforesaid ; and that bills of exchange, accepted by good and responsible merchants, might at the same time be delivered to him ; all which they consented to, and promised to perform : but when the commissioners came to Dublin, the bills

which they brought for the said ten thousand pounds were not accepted nor drawn in such a manner as might make them valid ; upon which failing on their part, the lieutenant had made those last offers to the Irish which are before remembered : but finding no good to be done there, he was content to take the words and protestations of the commissioners, that the said ten thousand pounds should be paid as soon as he should arrive in England ; which they were again so far from making good, that they paid him only inconsiderable sums at several payments, and had the major part still in their hands when he was forced to leave the kingdom, and which he could never recover from them, they paying it to some of his creditors without any consent of his, and only to such who had interest amongst them, and for whose sakes only they paid the same.

48 If the marquis would have been so careful and solicitous for himself, as with justice and honour he might have been, he might well have insisted to have had the two houses of parliament to have paid him a great sum of money, which was due to him by their own contract, as lieutenant general of the army, to the time of the cessation, which would have amounted to no less than

and which was paid into their hands upon that account ; and he might likewise have demanded recompence for such money as, arising out of the revenue of his lands which lay in their quarters, they had for some years hindered him from receiving, and taken the same to their own use ; and no question, if he had demanded either or both of those just payments, the English would easily have been inclined to have complied with him ; and his friends have much more reason to reproach him for not requiring the one, than his enemies have for receiving the other : but his too nice consideration of what the malice of men might say prevailed more with

him than the sober conclusion of what he might in justice and honour do, to wave all manner of conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular benefit and advantage, how reasonable and just soever.

19 It was in the time that the army had gotten the king into their hands (having taken him from Holmby out of the custody of the commissioners, to whom the Scots had delivered him) that the marquis arrived in England, and found so many specious pretences and professions published by that party which had then the whole power in the army, and consequently in the kingdom, that very many believed his majesty's affairs to be in no ill condition, and more seeming respect was paid to his person, and less restraint upon the resort of his faithful servants to him, than had been from the time that he first put himself into the Scots' power. The army, who then took upon them the government of the kingdom, having solemnly declared that there could be no reasonable hope of a firm and lasting peace if there were not an equal care to preserve the interest of the king, queen, and prince as of the liberties of the people, and that both should be with equal care provided for together: and in this time of freedom and hypocritical compliance the marquis had all liberty of repairing to the king, and gave him then an account of all his actions, and of the course he had taken for the reviving and preserving his interest in Ireland, by settling a correspondence with many persons of honour there, who would keep the two houses of parliament (how great advantage soever he had been forced to give them by the delivery of Dublin into their power,) if they refused to return to his majesty's obedience, from obtaining any absolute dominion in that country, and who were most like to reduce the nation from the dis tempers with which they were transported, and to incline them to that subjection that was due from them to the

king. With all which his majesty (as he had great reason) was very graciously and abundantly satisfied, and gave the marquis direction, in case the Independent army should proceed otherwise than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the Irish, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his and their own delivery; and when he discovered, by the double-dealing and hypocritical demeanour of the officers of the army, (of whom he had an earlier jealousy than other men, as seeing further into their dark designs,) the little good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive some overtures from the Scots commissioners, who were still admitted to reside at London, and to bear a part in the managery of the public affairs, and now plainly saw that the Independent power, which they had so much despised, was grown superior to them, and meant to perform nothing less than what they had religiously promised before the king was delivered up at Newcastle, the king commanded the marquis to confer with the principal persons of that commission, who seemed very sensible of the dis-honour their nation had incurred, and resolved, by uniting the power of that kingdom for his majesty's service, to undo some of the mischief they had wrought; and desired that the marquis of Ormond would likewise transport himself into Ireland, to try once more if he could compose the humours of that people to his majesty's obedience, that so those two kingdoms being entirely reduced to their duty, might (with that assistance they were like to find in England) persuade the violent party to comply with those moderate and just conclusions which would establish the peace and tranquillity of the whole, in a full happiness to prince and people: and from hence was that first engagement designed, which was afterwards so unfortunately conducted

by the elder duke Hamilton, and concluded with the ruin of himself and of many worthy and noble persons.

50 When the army had, by their civil and specious carriage and professions, disposed the king's party to wish well to them, at least better than to the presbyterians, (who seemed to have erected a model of a more formed and insupportable tyranny, and were less endued with appearances of humanity and good nature,) and had, by shuffling themselves into new shapes of government, and admitting persons of all conditions to assemble and make propositions to them, in order to the public peace, given encouragement to most men to believe that all interests would in some degree be provided for, and so had brought themselves into an absolute power over all interests, they began to lessen their outward respect and reverence to the king, to inhibit some of his servants absolutely to resort to him, and more to restrain the frequent access of the people, who, out of their innate duty and affection, delighted often to see his majesty; they caused reports to be raised and scattered abroad of some intention in desperate persons of violence upon his majesty's person; and upon this pretence doubled their guards, and put officers of stricter vigilance and more sour dispositions about him, so that whatsoever he said or did, or was said to him, was more punctually observed. The marquis of Ormond was looked upon with very jealous eyes, and was one of those noble persons who was known too faithful to his master to be suffered to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his attendance on him.

51 The articles which had been made with him at Dublin by the commissioners, and confirmed by the two houses of parliament at Westminster, were every day violated and infringed in most important particulars; as in the imprisonment of sir Faithful Fortescue, whose security

was provided for by the articles ; in the delay that was used in the payment of the money due to him ; and whereas he was to reside in what part of England he pleased, with all freedom, for the space of one year, without the imposition of any oath or engagement, and at the end thereof to have liberty to transport himself and his family into what foreign parts he pleased ; as soon as they began to be unmasked towards his majesty, they banished the marquis from London, forbidding him to come within twenty-five miles of that city ; and all this before he had ever spoken with the Scots commissioners, or given them the least shadow of pretence against him, saving only the having a heart impossible to be corrupted towards his master, and a head and a hand like to be of use to him : and shortly after the king was in the Isle of Wight, directions were given to apprehend and seize upon the person of the marquis of Ormond ; who thereupon concluding from their wicked carriage and barbarous demeanour towards his majesty, whom they had now made close prisoner in Carisbrook castle, that it would be very impertinent for him to insist upon the performance, and to expostulate for the breach of the agreement which had been made with him, with all secrecy transported himself out of the kingdom, and arrived safely in France about the end of the year 1647, having spent in England little more, from the time that he came out of Ireland, than six months.

52 The marquis no sooner found himself at liberty, and out of the reach of his enemies, than he projected again to visit Ireland, where his presence was impatiently longed for. When he had left that kingdom upon those breaches of faith so often repeated by the Irish, and their stupid submission to the pope's nuncio, (as is before remembered,) he had especially recommended to the marquis of Clanrickard and the viscount Taaffe (who had from the beginning, without the least pause, preserved

their duty to his majesty entirely; and, being Roman catholics, had publicly opposed the unreasonable and extravagant usurpation of the nuncio) to use their utmost power and dexterity to retain the affections of that party of the Irish, who had been very desirous that the former peace might have been effectual, and were really inclined to pay all obedience to his majesty, so that they might not be drawn under the subjection of the nuncio, but be ready again to submit to the king's authority when it should appear in the kingdom, and if the affairs in England should be without hope of composition: and accordingly the marquis of Clanrickard, by his interest and authority in the province of Connaught, disposed that people to a temper ready to be applied to those ends he should direct them; and the viscount Taaffe commanded a good army of horse and foot in the province of Munster, firmly united to obey him in any action that might contribute to the king's advantage. The forces under the nuncio were much weakened, partly by the defeat of general Preston, whose army was totally routed and destroyed by the parliament forces, within less than a month after they had compelled the marquis to leave the kingdom, and partly by the dislike the great council of the confederate catholics had of the demeanour of the nuncio, and the experience they now had of his ill conduct, and the miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the peace which would have been so advantageous to them.

53 The lord Inchiquin, whom (shortly after the first cessation was consented to by the lord lieutenant) the Irish, contrary to their faith, had endeavoured to surprise, and to get the towns in Munster under his command into their hands, and thereby compelled him to defend himself still against them by a sharp war, in which he had given them many overthrows, and upon the matter driven them

out of that province, had held a correspondence with the marquis of Ormond whilst he was in England ; and as soon as he came into France, desired him to make what haste he might into Ireland, where he should find the army under his command, and all the important towns of that province under his command, ready to submit to him, and to be conducted by him in the king's service, in any way he should command : and in the mean time he made an agreement with the Irish, under the command of the marquis of Clanrickard and the lord Taaffe, with the approbation of the supreme council of the confederate catholics, and lent them part of his army to assist them in an expedition they were then entered upon against the nuncio and Owen Roe O'Neal ; in which they prevailed so far, that Owen O'Neal found it necessary to retire to a great distance ; and they drove the nuncio himself into the town of Galway, where they besieged him with their army so closely, that they compelled the city, after near two months' siege, to pay a good sum of money to be distributed amongst the soldiers, and to disclaim any further subjection or submission to the nuncio's illimitable jurisdiction : who, after he had, with less effect and reverence from the catholics than formerly, issued out his excommunication against all those who complied with the cessation with the lord Inchiquin, he was compelled in the end, after so much mischief done to the religion he was obliged to protect, in an obscure manner to fly out of the kingdom.

54 And because the impudent injustice and imprudence of that nuncio, and the too tame subjection of that people to his immoderate and impetuous humour and spirit, was in truth the real fountain from whence this torrent of calamity flowed which hath since overwhelmed that miserable nation ; and because that exorbitant power of his was resolutely opposed by catholics of the most eminent parts and interest, and in the end (though too

late) expelled by them ; it will be but justice to the memory of those noble persons, who themselves and their ancestors have been eminent assertors of the Romish religion, and never departed from a full submission to that church, briefly to recollect the sum of that unhappy person's carriage and behaviour from the time that he was first designed to that employment, to the end that the Romish catholic religion and the Irish nation may discern what they owe to his activity and government, and the world may judge how impossible it was for the marquis of Ormond to preserve a people who so implicitly resigned themselves to the councils, direction, and disposal of such a nature and disposition : and in the doing hereof, no other language shall be used than what was part of a memorial delivered by an honourable and zealous catholic, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable behaviour of that nuncio to the pope himself, which runs in these very words. Speaking of the nuncio, he declared,

55 “ Before he left Rome, that he would not admit, either in company or in his family, any person of the English nation. In his voyage, before he arrived at Paris, he writ to his friends in Rome, with great joy, the news (although it proved after false) that the Irish confederates had treacherously surprised the city of Dublin, whilst they were in truce with the royal party, and treating about an accommodation and peace. Arriving at Paris, (where he shut himself up for many months,) he never vouchsafed (I will not say) to participate with the queen of England any thing touching his nunciature, but not in the least degree to reverence or to visit her majesty, (save only one time upon the score of courtesy,) as if he had been sent to her capital enemies, and not to her own subjects. Being arrived in Ireland, he employed presently all his power to dissolve the treaty of peace with the king which was then almost brought to perfection, and his diligence succeeded ; of which he valued himself, rejoiced and insulted beyond measure in the letters he writ to Paris, which were after shewed to the queen : and he may say truly, that in that kingdom he hath rather managed the

royal sceptre than the pastoral staff; and that he hath aimed more to be held the minister of a supreme prince of Ireland *in temporalibus*, than nuncio from the pope *in spiritualibus*: making himself president of the council, he hath managed the affairs of the supreme council of state; he hath by his own arbitrement excluded from it those who did not second him, although, by nobleness of birth, by alliance, by prudence, and by zeal to religion, they were most honourable; and only because they shewed themselves faithful subjects to their natural prince, and friends to the quiet of their country; of these he hath caused many to be imprisoned, with great scandal and danger of seditions: and in short, he hath assumed a distributive power both in civil and military affairs, giving out orders and commissions and powers under his own name, subscribed by his own hand, and made authentic with his seal for the government of the armies and of the state, and commissions of reprisals at sea. He struck in, presently after his arrival in Ireland, with that party of the natives who are esteemed irreconcilable not only with the English, but with the greatest and best part of the Irish nobility, and of the same people the most civil and most considerable of that island; and the better to support that party and faction, he hath procured the church to be furnished with a clergy and bishops of the same temper, excluding those persons who were recommended by the queen, and who for doctrine and virtue were above all exceptions; and all this contrary to what your holiness was pleased to promise. The queen was not yet discouraged, but so laboured to renew the treaty of peace, already once broken and disordered by monsieur Rinuccini, that, by means of his majesty, it was not only reassumed, but in the end, after great difficulty and opposition on his part, the peace was concluded between the royal party and the confederate catholics, and warranted, not only by the king's word, but also by the retention of armies, castles, and forts, and of civil magistrates, with the possession of churches and of ecclesiastical benefices, and with the free exercise of catholic religion; and all this should have been established by public decree and authentic laws made by the three estates assembled in a free parliament: by this peace and confederacy they would have rescued themselves from the dangers of a ruinous war; have purchased security to their consciences and

of their temporal estates ; succoured the royal party and the catholics in England with the certain restitution and liberty of the king, whereon depended absolutely the welfare of the catholics in all his kingdoms ; the apostolic chair had quitted itself of all engagement and expense with honour and glory. This treaty of peace, on all sides so desirable, monseignior Rinuccini broke with such violence, that he forced the marquis of Ormond, vice-king of Ireland, to precipitate himself (contrary to his affection and inclination) into the arms of the parliament of England, to the unspeakable damage of the king and of the catholics, not only of Ireland, but also of England ; and he incensed the greatest and best part of the Irish nobility, and rendered the venerable name of the holy apostolic chair odious to the heretics, with small satisfaction to the catholic princes themselves of Europe ; as though it sought not the spiritual good of souls, but temporal interest, by making itself lord over Ireland : and when the lord Digby and the lord Biron endeavoured, on the marquis of Ormond's part, to incline him to a new treaty of peace, he did not only disdain to admit them, or to accept the overture, but understanding that the lord Biron was with great danger and fatigue come to a town in the county of Westmeath, where he was, to speak with him, he forced the earl, that was chief of it, to send him away (contrary to all laws of courtesy and humanity) in the night time, exposed to extraordinary inconveniences and dangers amongst those distractions, protesting, that otherwise he would himself immediately depart the town. By this proceeding, monseignior Rinuccini hath given the world occasion to believe that he had private and secret commissions to change the government of Ireland, and to separate that island from the crown of England ; and this opinion is the more confirmed, since that one Marcello, or some such name, [Mahoni, a Jesuit,] hath printed a book in Portugal, wherein he endeavours to prove that all the kings of England have been either tyrants or usurpers of Ireland, and so fallen from the dominion of it, exhorting all its natives to get together, and to use all cruelty against the English, with expressions full of villainy and reproach, and to choose a new king of their own country ; and this book, so barbarous and bloody, dispersed throughout Ireland, is as yet tolerated by the catholic and apostolic chair : and the Continuation of the History of Cardinal

Baronius was published at the same time, under the name of Olderic Raynaldo; in the which (and positively) he endeavours to establish the supreme right and dominion in the apostolic chair, even *in temporalibus*, over England and Ireland. I leave to every man to consider whether all these actions are not apt enough to beget jealousies and to breed naughty blood; and whether I ought not, out of a great respect to the public good, to represent with some ardency to your holiness the actions of monseignior Rinuccini, so unseasonable, and directly contrary to those ends for the which it is supposed he was employed: and I beseech your holiness to consider, if any king, not only protestant but even catholic, had seen an apostolic nuncio to lord it in his dominions in such a manner as monseignior Rinuccini hath done in Ireland, what jealousies, what complaints, and how many inconveniences would thereby follow."

⁵⁶ This was part of that remonstrance presented to the pope himself, by an eminent catholic minister of great reputation, on the behalf of the catholics of Ireland, who, instead of being relieved and supported, were oppressed and destroyed by the nuncio; and I presume this extract will be of greater authority and credit with the world, to inform them of the proceedings there, than any thing scattered abroad in unowned pamphlets can be towards the incensing them against persons of honour, whom they know not; and I heartily wish that the passion and unskilfulness of that haughty prelate may rather have an influence upon catholics, to discern the exceeding ill consequence that must naturally attend such violent and unnatural interpositions, and how it may alienate the affections of princes from complying with a power that will prescribe no modest or civil limits and bounds to itself, than incline the affections of protestants to animosity or uncharitable conclusions, that the papal chair affects a sovereignty over the hearts of her children which is inconsistent with that duty which they owe to their princes; and thereupon to abhor a conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the duties and offices

of Christian love and friendship ; and with whom they ought to constitute a joint subjection and allegiance to the king, according to the laws and policy of the kingdom of which they are subjects.

57 After the marquis of Ormond had in vain solicited a supply of money in France, to the end that he might carry some relief to a kingdom so harassed and worn, and be the better able to unite those who would be sure to have temptations enough of profit to the contrary to the king's obedience ; he was at last compelled, being with great importunity called for by the lord Inchiquin, and the rest who upheld his majesty's interest, to transport himself, unfurnished of money, arms, or ammunition, and without any other retinue than of his own servants and three or four friends : and in this equipage he arrived in Ireland about the very end of September in the year 1648, and landed at Cork, where he was received by the lord Inchiquin, lord president of that province of Munster, with that respect and honour as was due to the lord lieutenant of the kingdom. It must not be forgotten, that during the time the marquis was in France, and after the parliament forces had upon so great inequality of numbers defeated the Irish, and in all encounters driven them into their fastnesses, the confederate catholics had easily discerned the mischief they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the king's authority out of the kingdom, and introducing the other, which had no purposes of mercy towards them ; and therefore they had sent the lord marquis of Antrim, the lord Muskerry, and others, as their commissioners, to the queen of England, and to her son the prince of Wales, who were both then at Paris ; to beseech them (since by reason of the king's imprisonment they could not be suffered to apply themselves to his majesty) to take compassion of the miserable condition of Ireland, and to restore that nation to their protection ;

making ample professions and protestations of duty, and of applying themselves for the future to his majesty's service, if they might be once again owned by him, and countenanced and conducted by his authority. And thereupon the queen and prince had answered those persons, that they would shortly send a person qualified to treat with them, who should have power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their security and happiness; with which answer they returned well satisfied into Ireland, one only excepted: so that as soon as the lord lieutenant was landed at Cork, he wrote to the assembly of the confederate catholics then at Kilkenny, that he was, upon the humble petition which they had presented to the queen and prince, come with full power to conclude a peace with them; and to that purpose desired that as little time might be lost as was possible, but that commissioners might be sent to him to his house at Carrick, whither he would go to expect them, being within twenty miles of the place where the assembly then sat; who were so much the gladder of his presence, by the obligation they had newly received from the king's authority: for when the nuncio and Owen O'Neal had thought to have surprised them, and to have compelled them to renounce the cessation, the lord Inchiquin, being sent to by them for his protection, had marched with his army to their relief, and forced O'Neal to retire over the Shannon, and thereby restored them to liberty and freedom; so that they returned a message of joy and congratulation to the lieutenant for his safe arrival, and appointed commissioners to treat with him at the place he had appointed. It was the nineteenth of October that the commissioners came to Carrick, the house of the marquis, where they continued about twenty days, which they spent principally in the matter of religion; in treating whereof, they were so bound up and limited by their instructions, and could make so little progress of them-

selves, being still to give account to the assembly of whatsoever was proposed or offered by the lord lieutenant, and to expect its determination or direction before they proceeded, that for the husbanding of time, which was now very precious, (the rebels of England every day more discovering their bloody purposes towards the king,) the assembly thought fit to desire the marquis to repair to his own castle at Kilkenny, which they offered to deliver into his hands; and that for his honour and security he should bring his own guards, who should have that reception [that] was due to them: and upon this invitation, about the middle of November, he went to Kilkenny; before his entry into which, he was met by the whole body of the assembly, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry residing there; and in the town was received with all those requisite ceremonies, by the mayor and aldermen, as such corporations use to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom: so that a greater evidence could not be given of an entire union in the desire of returning to the king's obedience, or of more affection and respect to the person of the lord lieutenant, who, by his steady pursuing those professions he had always made, by his neglect and contempt of the rebels and their prodigious power whilst he was in England, by his refusing all the overtures made by them to him for his particular benefit if he would live in the kingdom, and by their declared and manifest hatred and malice towards him, was now superior to all those calumnies they had aspersed him with, and confessed to be worthy of a joint trust from the most different and divided interests and designs. However, there were so many passions and humours and interests to be complied with, and all conclusions to pass the approbation of so many votes, that it was the middle of January before all opinions could be so reconciled as to produce a perfect and entire compact and agreement; which about that

time passed with that miraculous consent and unity, that in the whole assembly, in which were the catholic bishops, there was not one dissenting voice; so that on the seventeenth of January the whole assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant in his castle at Kilkenny, and there, with all solemnity imaginable, presented unto him, by the hand of their chairman, or speaker, the articles of peace, as concluded, assented, and submitted to by the whole body of the catholic nation of Ireland; the which he received and solemnly confirmed on his majesty's behalf, and caused the same that day to be proclaimed in that town, to the great joy of all who were present; and it was with all speed accordingly proclaimed, and as joyfully received, in all the cities and incorporate towns which professed any allegiance to the king throughout the kingdom: and for the better reception thereof amongst the people, and to manifest the satisfaction and joy they took in it, the catholic bishops sent out their letters and declarations, that they were abundantly satisfied in whatsoever concerned religion and the secure practice thereof.

58 When the articles of peace were presented in that solemn manner to him by the assembly, after the speech made by the presenter, the lord lieutenant expressed him[*self*] in these words to them:

59 “ *My lords and gentlemen,*

“ I shall not speak to those expressions of duty and loyalty so eloquently digested into a discourse by the gentleman appointed by you to deliver your sense; you will presently have in your hands greater and more solid arguments of his majesty's gracious acceptance than I can enumerate, or than perhaps you yourselves discern: for besides the provision made against your remotest fears of the severity of certain laws, and besides many other freedoms and bounties conveyed to you and your posterity by these articles, there is a door, and that a large one, not left, but purposely set open, to give you

entrance, by your future merits, to whatsoever of honour or other advantage you can reasonably wish; so that you have in present fruition what may abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no bounds set to your hopes, but you are rather invited, or, to use the new phrase, (but to an old and better purpose,) you seem to have a call from Heaven, to exercise your arms and uttermost fortitude in the noblest and justest cause the world hath known; for, let all the circumstances incident to a great and good cause of war be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably called to defend. Religion, not in the narrow circumscribed definition of it, by this or that late found out name, but Christian religion, is our quarrel; which certainly is as much, as fatally struck at (I may say more) by the blasphemous license of this age, than ever it was by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous and avowed enemies to Christianity; the venerable laws and fundamental constitutions of our ancestors are trodden under impious and (for the most part) mechanic feet! the sacred person of our king (the life of those laws and the head of those constitutions) is under an ignominious imprisonment, and his life threatened to be taken away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of the people that owe him obedience! and (to endear the quarrel to you) the fountain of all the benefits you have but now acknowledged, and what you may further hope for by this peace and your own merits, is in danger to be obstructed by the execrable murder of the worthiest prince that ever ruled these islands! In short, hell can add nothing to the desperate mischief now openly projected. And now judge if a greater, a more glorious field was ever set open to action, and then prepare yourselves to enter into it, receiving these few advices from one throughly embarked with you in the adventure:

6o “First, let me recommend unto you, that to this, as to all holy actions, (and such certainly is this,) you will prepare yourselves with perfect charity; a charity that may obliterate whatever of rancour a long continued civil war may have contracted in you against any that shall now cooperate with you in so blessed a work: and let his engagement with you in this (whoever he is) be, as it ought to be, a bond of unity, of love, of concord, stronger than the nearest ties of nature.

61 " In the next place, mark and beware of those that shall go about to renew or create jealousies in you, under what pretence soever, and account such as infernal ministers employed to promote the black design on foot, to subvert monarchy, and to make us all slaves to those that are so to their own avaricious lusts. Away, as soon and as much as possibly may be, with those distinctions of nation and of parties, which are the fields wherein the seeds of those ranker weeds are sown by the great enemy of our peace.

62 " In the last place, let us all divest ourselves of that preposterous, that ridiculous ambition and self-interest, which rather leads to our threatened general ruin, than to the enjoyment of advantages unseasonably desired ; and if at any time you think yourselves pinched too near the bone by those taxes and levies that may be imposed for your defence, consider then how vain, how foolish a thing it will be, to starve a righteous cause for want of necessary support, to preserve yourselves fat and gilded sacrifices to the rapine of a merciless enemy. And if we come thus well prepared to a contention so just on our part, God will bless our endeavours with success and victory, or will crown our sufferings with honour and patience : for what honour will it not be, (if God have so determined of us,) to perish with a long glorious monarchy ? and who can want patience to suffer with oppressed princes ? But as our endeavours, so let our prayers be vigorous, that they may be delivered from a more unnatural rebellion than is mentioned by any story, now raised to the highest pitch of success against them.

63 " I should now say something to you for myself, in retribution to the advantageous mention made of me and my endeavours to bring this settlement to pass ; but I confess my thoughts were wholly taken up with those much greater concerns : let it suffice, that as I wish to be continued in your good esteem and affection, so I shall freely adventure upon any hazard, and esteem no trouble or difficulty too great to encounter, if I may manifest my zeal to this cause, and discharge some part of the obligations that are upon me to serve this kingdom."

64 It will not be here necessary to insert the articles of the peace, which are publicly known to the world ; it is enough to say, that the lord lieutenant not only granted

all that was in the judgment of the Roman catholic bishops, and even of the bishop of Fernes, requisite to the peaceable and secure profession of that religion, with such countenance to and support for it, as from the first planting of it it had never, in some respects, been possessed of in that kingdom; but was likewise compelled so far to comply with the fears and jealousies of men, (who, by often breaking their faith, and from greater guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promised to them might not be hereafter observed,) as to divest himself of that full and absolute power that was inherent in his office, and was never more fit to be exercised than for the carrying on that design, in which they seemed all to agree, and to make twelve commissioners (named and chosen by the assembly to look to the observation and performance of the said articles, until the same should be ratified by the king in a full and peaceable convention of parliament) joint sharers with him in his authority; so that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor so much as erect garrisons, without the approbation and consent of the major part of those commissioners: the danger and mischief of which limitation and restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that people, and the composing them to an entire confidence in the peace, (which could be compassed no other way,) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it: and then the abilities and affections of the commissioners were so well known and approved by him, that having most of them the same good end with him, he presumed he should, with the less difficulty, be able to persuade them which were the nearest and most natural ways that conduced thereto.

65 With what consent and unity soever this peace was made by those who had any pretence to trust, or to whom there was the least deputation of authority and

power by the nation, yet Owen O'Neal (who had the greatest influence upon the humours and inclinations of the old Irish, who had given themselves up to the nuncio, and who indeed had a better disciplined, and consequently a stronger army at his command than the confederate catholics had at their devotion) still refused to submit to it ; so that the lord lieutenant, as soon as the peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, to remove some garrisons he held, which infested those who obeyed the acts of the assembly, and to prevent his incursions, as to raise an army against the spring with which to march against the English rebels, who were possessed of Dublin and all the country and important places in that circuit, and who, he was sure, would be supplied with all the assistance of shipping, men, money, victuals, and ammunition, which the inhuman and bloody rebels of England (who had now murdered their sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the name and title of a commonwealth) could send to them : and he was in a worse condition to prevail against both these by the unhappy temper and constitution of the Scots in Ulster, who being very numerous, and possessed of considerable towns, though they abhorred the English rebels, and were not reconcilable to Owen O'Neal and his army, were yet as uninclined to the peace made with the confederate catholics, and far from paying an obedience and full submission to the orders and government of the lord lieutenant, maintaining at the same time a presbyterian form in their church and an utter independency in state, and out of those contradictory ingredients compounding such a peevish and wayward affection and duty to the king, as could not be applied to the bearing any part in the great work the marquis was incumbent to. So that whosoever will wisely revolve and consider this wild conjuncture of affairs, and that to the subduing the power, strength,

and wealth of the English rebels, and the equal malice and hardness of Owen O'Neal and his party, as much, or, in truth, more contracted against the confederate catholics than the king's authority, and to the forming and disposing the useless and unprofitable pretences of affection in the Scots, and reducing them to obedience, the marquis brought over with him neither men nor money, nor any advantage but that of his own person, wisdom, and reputation, and was now, upon the peace, to constitute an army, not only of several nations and religions, and of much passion and superciliousness in those opinions which flowed from their several religions, but of such men, who had, for above the space of eight years, prosecuted a sharp war against each other, with all the circumstances of animosity, rapine, and revenge, and who were now brought into this reconciliation and conjunction rather by the wonderful wisdom and dexterity of their principal commanders, than by their own charity and inclinations ; and that, in the forming of this army, he had not above six or seven officers upon whose skill in military affairs, and affection to him, he could with any confidence depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and such who either had no experience in war, or who had been always in arms against him ; I say, whoever without passion considers all this, will rather wonder that the marquis did not sink under the weight of the first attempt, and that he could proceed with success in any one enterprise, than that an army so made up should upon the first misadventure be dissolved into jealousies and prejudices amongst themselves, and that all the confusion should follow which naturally attends such compositions.

66 As soon as the peace was thus concluded, proclaimed, and accepted, the lord lieutenant took a survey of the stores of arms and ammunition, and other provisions

necessary for the army, which was to be brought together in the spring, and found all very short of what he expected, and what in truth was absolutely necessary, to the work, and the ways for raising money, with which all the rest was to be supplied, in no degree to be depended upon; the cities and incorporate towns, where, upon the instant, all the wealth was, having never submitted further to the general assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their party, but, like so many several commonwealths, ordered all contributions and payments of money by their own acts and determinations; nor would, upon the most emergent occasion, suffer any money to be raised in any other proportion, or in any other manner, than best agreed with their own humours and conveniences: so that the commissioners advised and besought the lord lieutenant to make a journey in person to such of those corporations as were best able to assist, and, by his own presence and interest, to endeavour to persuade them to express that affection to the peace they had professed. Thereupon he went, with a competent number of the commissioners, to Waterford, and from thence to Limerick, and then to Galway; from which several places he procured the loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the general assembly had ever been able to do; and by this means, which cost him much labour and time, he found himself in condition to draw the several forces together; which he did about the beginning of May, having made the lord Inchiquin lieutenant general of the army, the earl of Castlehaven general of the horse, and the lord Taaffe general of the artillery: and it being thought fit to lose as little time as might be in marching towards Dublin, as soon as any considerable numbers of men were come together he sent the earl of Castlehaven with them, to take in several garrisons which were possessed by Owen O'Neal in the Queen's County, which was the way he

intended to march, and so would leave no enemies in his rear ; and the earl accordingly took the fort of Maryborough, and other places in that county, and Athy and Reban in the county of Kildare, whereby the passage was opened for their further march. Having in this manner begun the campania, the lord lieutenant appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army at Cloghgrenan, a house of his own upon the river of Barrow, near the castle of Caterlagh, where he made a conjunction of all the forces, protestant and Roman catholics, who (by the wisdom and temper of the principal officers) mingled well enough, and together, about the end of May, made a body of three thousand and seven hundred horse and four thousand and five hundred foot, with a train of artillery consisting of four pieces of cannon : but when they were now met, all the money which could be raised by the commissioners, or which had been paid by the incorporate towns, was so near spent in drawing the soldiers out of their quarters, and in those short expeditions into the Queen's County and the county of Kildare, that they could not have advanced in their march if the lord lieutenant had not upon his own private credit borrowed the sum of eight hundred pounds sterling of a private gentleman, [sir Jam. Preston,] (to whom the same still remains due,) by means whereof he gave the common soldiers four days' pay, and so marched about the beginning of June from Cloghgrenan, and the same evening appeared before Talbot's Town, a strong garrison of the enemy, which, together with Castle Talbot, (two miles distant from the other,) was within three days surrendered to the marquis upon the promise of quarter. From thence he marched to Kildare, which town was likewise in a short time surrendered to him. Here he was compelled to stay three or four days, both for want of provisions, and for a recruit of two thousand foot, which, by the lord Inchiquin's care and diligence, was then upon their march ; and being joined,

he was in hope, by a sudden and speedy motion, to have engaged Jones, who was at that time marched a good distance from Dublin with his army; and so encouraging his soldiers with three days' pay, (which he was likewise compelled to borrow on his credit, out of the pockets of the persons of quality attending on him, and of the officers of the army,) he passed the river of Liffey; and Jones having upon the intelligence of his motion in great disorder raised his camp, and retired into Dublin, the marquis encamped his whole army at the Naas, twelve miles from Dublin, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken or attempted, it being now about the middle of June.

67 That which appeared worthy of debate was, whether the army should first make an attempt upon Dublin, in which it was believed there were very many, both officers and soldiers, and other persons of quality, well affected to the king's service, and who had formerly served under the marquis, and esteemed him accordingly, who might make that work the more easy; or whether it should be first applied to the taking in Trym, Drogheda, and the other out garrisons, from whence the city received much provisions of all kinds, and from whence the provisions to the army would be cut off, and much other prejudice might ensue: but upon a full consideration, the council of war, which consisted of the general officers, inclined to the former, concluding that, if they could take Dublin, all the other places would quickly fall into their hands; and if they should delay it, and waste their provisions in those lesser attempts, there might probably arrive out of England such supplies of men and money and other necessaries to the rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important work almost impossible. Hereupon the lord lieutenant marched the very next morning towards Dublin, and that afternoon repassed the whole army again over the river of Liffey by the bridge of

Lucan, and encamping near that place, to rest his men a few hours of the night, he marched very early in the morning, being the 19th of June, and appeared by nine of the clock at a place called Castle-Knock, in view of the city; and hearing that Jones had drawn out all his horse into a green not far from the walls, he sent a party of horse and musketeers to face them, whilst he drew his whole body within less than cannon shot of their gates, hoping hereby to give some countenance to those in the town to raise some commotions within; and having spent most part of the day in this posture and expectation, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he found it necessary to draw off, and encamped that night at a place two miles from the town called Finglass, whither great multitudes of the Roman catholics (whereof most were aged men and women and children, whom Jones had turned out of the city) repaired to him, all whom he sent, with all due order for their reception, into the quarters adjacent.

68 The marquis was no sooner in his quarters, than he received sure intelligence that Jones had sent his horse to Drogheda, from whence they would have been able to have distressed his army several ways, and to have intercepted the provisions which came out of the country out of the magazines, which were at the least thirty miles distant; and the principal officers were of opinion, upon the view they had taken that day of the enemy, and the countenance they had observed of their own men, that they were not sufficiently provided for a formal siege, and as ill to attack the town by a brisk attempt; and therefore he resolved to remain encamped at that place for some time, whereby he might take advantage of any opportunity they within the town could administer unto him; and presently sent the lord Inchiquin, lieutenant general of the army, with a strong party of horse, to pursue the rebels' horse, which were sent

for Drogheda; which he did so successfully, that he surprised one whole troop, and afterwards encountered colonel Coote in the head of three hundred horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest, who, in a disordered haste, fled into Drogheda. The lord Inchiquin presently sent advertisements of this success, and that he had reason to believe that if he pursued this advantage, and attempted the town whilst this terror possessed the rebels, he should make himself master of it.

69 Whereupon, and in respect of the great importance of the place, the reduction whereof would produce a secure correspondence with, and give a great encouragement to, the Scots in Ulster, who made great professions of duty to the king, and had now, under the conduct of the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, driven sir Charles Coote into the city of Londonderry, and upon the matter beleaguered him there, the lord lieutenant, by the advice of the council of war, approved the design, and to that purpose sent him two good regiments of foot and two pieces of artillery, and such ammunition and materials as could be spared; wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within seven days he compelled the rebels to yield upon quarter, and reduced the town to the king's obedience.

70 There was now very reasonable ground for hope that the English rebels would quickly find themselves in notable straits and distresses, when it was on a sudden discovered how very active and dexterous the spirit of rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who are possessed by it, (how contradictory soever their principles and ends seem to be,) and to contribute jointly to the opposing and oppressing that lawful power they had both equally injured and provoked.

71 The parliament party, who had heaped so many reproaches and calumnies upon the king for his clemency to the Irish, who had founded their own authority and

strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman catholic religion, and even with any humanity towards the Irish nation, and more especially towards those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had upon the matter sworn the utter extirpation ; and Owen O'Neal, who was himself of that most ancient sept, and whose army consisted only of such who avowed no other cause for their first entrance into rebellion but the matter of religion, and that the power of the parliament was like to be so great and prevalent, that the king himself would not be able to extend his favour and mercy towards them, which they seemed to be confident he was in his own gracious disposition inclined to express, and therefore professed to take up arms against that exorbitant power only of them, and to retain hearts full of devotion and duty to his majesty; and who at present by underhand and secret treaties with the lord lieutenant, seemed more irreconciled to the proceedings of the general assembly, and to the persons of those who he thought governed there, than to make any scruple of submitting to the king's authority in the person of the marquis, to which and to whom he protested all duty and reverence ; these two so contrary and disagreeing elements had, I say, by the subtle and volatile spirit of hypocrisy and rebellion, found a way to incorporate together ; and Owen O'Neal had promised and contracted with the other, that he would compel the lord lieutenant to retire and draw off his army from about Dublin, by his invading with his army those parts of Leinster and Munster which yielded most, or indeed all, the provisions and subsistence to the marquis, and which he presumed the marquis would not leave to be spoiled and desolated by his incursion : for the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this expedition, colonel Monke, the governor of Dundalk, (and who was the second person of command among the English rebels,) had pro-

mised to deliver him, out of the stores of that garrison, a good quantity of powder and bullet, and match proportionable; for the fetching whereof O'Neal had sent Farrell, the lieutenant-general of his army, with a party of five hundred foot and three hundred horse, at the same time that Drogheda was taken by the lord Inchiquin; who, being there advertised of that new contracted friendship, resolved to give some interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few hours after Farrell had received the ammunition at Dundalk he fell upon him, routed all his horse, and of the five hundred foot there were not forty escaped, but were either slain or taken prisoners, and got all the ammunition, and with it so good an account of the present state of Dundalk, that he immediately engaged before it, and in two days compelled Monke (who would else have been delivered up by his own soldiers) to surrender the place; where was a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries for the war, most of the officers and soldiers with all alacrity engaging themselves in his majesty's service.

72 Upon this success, the lesser garrisons of the Newry, Narrow Water, Green Castle, and Carlingford, were easily subjected; and the lord Inchiquin, in his return, being appointed to visit the town of Trym, the only garrison left to the rebels in those parts except Dublin, in two days after he had besieged it made himself master of it, and so returned with his party (not impaired by the service) to the lord lieutenant, in his camp at Finglass.

73 Owen O'Neal still continuing his affection to the English rebels, when he found that his design to draw the king's army from Dublin could not succeed, he hastened into Ulster, and upon the payment of two thousand pounds in money, some ammunition, and about two thousand cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, the only considerable place in that province which held for the

English rebels, and which was even then reduced to extremity by the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, and must in few days have submitted to the king's authority if it had not in that manner been relieved by the unfortunate Irish.

74 All the places of moment near Dublin being thus reduced, and the lord Inchiquin having put competent garrisons into them, and yet returned to the camp with a stronger party than he marched out with, on the 24th of July the marquis took a view of his whole army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand foot and about four thousand horse, which, though a good force, was not equal to the work of forming a regular siege of so large and populous a city as Dublin, and as unfit to storm it; therefore it was resolved still to continue the former design of straitening it, until the necessities within abated the obstinacy of that people: for the better doing whereof, the lord viscount Dillon, of Gostello, was appointed to remain still on the north side of the town with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to block it up, having two or three small places of strength to retire to upon any occasion; and the lord lieutenant, the next day, marched with the remainder of the army over the river of Liffey, to the south side, to a place called Rathmines, where he resolved to encamp, and from whence, by reason of the narrowness of the river, he might discourage any attempt of sending relief into the town by sea from England; and, in truth, if he had come time enough to have raised a work upon a point there, some interruption might have been given to that enterprise: but it pleased God that the very same day (the 25th of July) the marquis marched thither, and in the sight of his army, as it marched, a strong gale of wind from the east brought into Dublin colonel Raynolds and colonel Venables, with a good supply of horse and foot and money, and of all other necessaries

whereof the garrison stood in need; which marvellously exalted the spirits of all those who were devoted to the obedience of the rebels, and depressed the minds of them who watched all opportunities of doing service to the king: however, the marquis pursued his resolution, and encamped that night at Rathmines, and the next day made himself strong there, till, upon the information he was sure to receive of the state and condition of the enemy, he might better conclude what was next to be done.

75 There were many honest men within the city, who found means to send the marquis still advertisements of what was necessary for him to know; and the same ships which brought supplies from and for the rebels brought likewise intelligence from those who wished well to the king's service to the lord lieutenant, and to other persons of honour who were with him; and from several persons of known integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the councils of the rebels, it was informed that this supply which was already landed at Dublin was all that was intended for that place, and believed to be sufficient to defend it from any army the marquis could bring to attack it; and that Cromwell, who was enough known to be ready in England to embark with a great army, meant to land in Munster, a country but lately fallen from their devotion, and where there were still too many who were inclined to him, and thereby to compel the lord lieutenant to rise from Dublin; and it is very true, that at that time Cromwell was resolved to have proceeded in that manner. Upon this joint intelligence, (for it came from some persons to the lord lieutenant, and from others to the lord Inchiquin,) it was upon a consultation with the general officers concluded absolutely necessary that the lord Inchiquin, being lord president of Munster, should immediately, with a strong party of horse, repair into that province, whereby at least the garrisons there might be supported against any sudden

attempt of the enemy, if they should land there ; and that the army being thus weakened by the quality as well as the number of this party, (which were the best horse of the body,) the lord lieutenant should retire to Drumnah, being a quarter of greater strength and security than that of Rathmines was or could be made, and at such a distance as might as well block up the enemy as the other, and from whence an uninterrupted communication might be held with that party which was left on the north side of the river ; and upon this conclusion the lord Inchiquin departed towards Munster.

76 When it was known that the army was to retire, the officers and soldiers expressed much trouble, and seemed to believe the reducing of the town not to be a matter of that difficulty as was pretended : if they could hinder the rebels' horse from grazing in a meadow near the walls, which was the only place they were possessed of to that purpose, they could not be able to subsist five days ; and it would be in their power to take that benefit from them if they possessed themselves of a castle called Baggotts Rath, very near adjoining to that pasture, which was already so strong that in one night it might be sufficiently fortified : and this discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much credit, that the council of war entreated the marquis to decline his former resolution of retiring to Drumnah ; general Preston, sir Arthur Aston, and major general Purcell having viewed the place, and assuring the lord lieutenant that it might be possessed and sufficiently fortified in one night.

77 It is no wonder that in an army thus constituted and composed, the marquis thought not fit by his authority to restrain it from pursuing an enterprise of so much gallantry, and which had so much possibility of success ; and indeed he still retained some hope of advantage by the affections of the city, and that even in [those] last supplies which were sent over there were many who laid

hold of that opportunity to transport themselves for the advancement of the king's service, and with a purpose quickly to change their masters; so that he was contented to recede from his former resolution; and on the first of August, at night, sent a strong party to possess themselves of Baggotts Rath, and with such materials as were necessary to fortify it: and because he concluded that the enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of a design which would bring such irreparable damage to them, he gave strict order for drawing the whole army into battalia, and commanded that they should stand in arms all that night, himself continuing in the field on horseback till the morning. As soon as it was day he went to visit the place that was to be fortified, which he found not in that condition he expected; the officer excusing himself by having been misguided in the night, so that it was very late before he arrived there; wherewith the marquis being unsatisfied, displaced the officer who commanded the party, and put another, of good name and reputation, into the charge, and appointed him to make his men work hard, since it appeared that in four or five hours it might be so well finished that they need fear no attempt from the town: and that they might be sure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the army to remain in the same posture they had been all the night; and about nine of the clock, seeing no appearance of any sally from the town, which he had so long expected, he went to his tent to refresh himself with a little rest; which he had not obtained for the space of an hour, when he was awakened by an alarm from the enemy, and putting himself immediately on his horse, quickly found that his officers had not been so punctual in their duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted the posts (out of an unhappy confidence that the rebels would

not adventure at that time of the day to make any sally) as soon as the marquis went to repose himself, so that a strong party out of the town, at ten of the clock in the morning, marched directly to Baggots Rath, and with less opposition than ought to have been made, beat and routed and dispersed the party that possessed it; who, finding their horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the place with all imaginable confusion, which encouraged the rebels (who were seconded immediately by the whole power in Dublin) to advance further towards the army (which they discerned to be in high disorder) than at their coming out they intended.

78 The lord lieutenant used all means to put the horse in order, sending the lord Taaffe to command the foot; but sir William Vaughan, commissary general of the horse, being in the first charge killed, they who followed him were immediately routed; whereupon so general a consternation seized upon the spirits of all the rest, that the marquis could prevail with none to stand with him but the regiments of his brother, colonel Butler, and colonel Grady, with which he charged the enemy; wherein colonel Grady being slain, and his brother sore wounded and taken prisoner, that body was likewise entirely broken; and from that time it was not in his power, by all the means he could use, to rally any party of horse, and to make them so much as stand by him; so that when he was even environed with the enemy, and attended only with very few of his own servants, and two or three gentlemen, he was forced to make his way through them, and to quit the field; when that small body of foot which still kept their ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their horse, were compelled to surrender their arms to the rebels; the lord Taaffe making his own way so prosperously, that he got to the north

side, where he found that body which had been left there in arms, and used all the possible endeavours he could to persuade them to attempt the recovery of what was lost, which in so great disorder of the enemy (which such success usually produces) had not been reasonably to be despaired of: but the apprehension and jealousy, and fright and terror, was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, or to do more than (and that in confusion enough) to provide for their own security.

79 This was the unhappy, and indeed fatal defeat of Rathmines, which was the first and only loss that ever fell upon any army or party of which the marquis had the name and title (and God knows he had here no more than the name) of supreme commander, and these the whole circumstances of it; so that what fault or defect or oversight in him contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, malice itself cannot suggest: and for the matter itself, though it must be and is confessed, that many officers and soldiers of the army did not that day discharge their trust with diligence and integrity, or fight with any tolerable courage, and were on a sudden more confounded with fear and amazement than was to be expected from the cause they were to defend, and from their own behaviour in former actions; yet the success on the rebels' side was in no degree wonderful, the advantage in number being theirs, they who sallied out of the town and were upon the field being effectively six thousand foot and nineteen hundred horse, and the army encamped at Rathmines was not near so strong in horse or foot; and therefore it is nothing strange, that so well governed and disciplined soldiers, under good officers, should overcome a less number of raw, new levied, and unpractised men, under unexperienced officers, though possessed of some advantage of ground; nor can the unfitness and unskilfulness of the officers be imputed to want of care

in the marquis; since they were not only such upon whose interest the men were raised and brought together, and so consequently had a kind of dependence upon them, but such as were recommended particularly to him by the general assembly: and how unsatisfied they were with all other officers than those who were recommended by themselves, and how violently they protested against them, of how great reputation soever they were of for courage, conduct, and constant and unblemished integrity to the king's service, the ensuing discourse will sufficiently set forth and declare.

80 When the marquis found the consternation to be so great in his soldiers who fled away, that no considerable number could be got together to make any stand, though at some miles distance from the action, and that the other part of the army on Finglass side, who had seen no enemy, could but be contained from dispersing, he sent them orders to march to Drogheda and Trym, for the strengthening of those garrisons, which he believed Jones might, upon the pride of his late success, be inclined to attack; and himself went to Kilkenny, as the fittest rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and scattered forces, and from whence he might best give orders and directions for the making new levies: and in his march thither, the very next day after the defeat at Rathmines, he made a halt with those few horse which he had rallied together, he summoned the strong fort of Ballysonan, which he had before left blocked up by a party of horse and foot, and having found means to persuade the governor to believe that Dublin had been surrendered, and that the army was returning, he got that important place into his hands; without which stratagem Jones would have pursued his conquest even to Kilkenny itself, which he had found in a very ill condition to defend itself; and in a whole week's time, after his coming to Kilkenny, he could draw together but three hundred

horse, with which he found it necessary, just eight days after the defeat, to march in person to the relief of Drogheda, which, according to his expectation, was besieged by Jones and defended by the lord Moore: upon the approach of the marquis no nearer than Trym, the siege was raised, and Jones returned to Dublin.

81 His lordship entering Drogheda, whither he resolved to draw his army as soon as might be, issued out his orders accordingly, hoping in a short time, if no other misfortunes intervened, to get a good body of men together, and to restrain those of Dublin from making any great advantage of their late victory. But he had been there very few days, when he received sure advertisement that Cromwell was himself landed, with a great army of horse and foot, and with vast supplies of all kinds, at Dublin, where he arrived within less than a fortnight after the unfortunate defeat at Rathmines. The scene was now totally altered, and the war the lord lieutenant was to make could be only defensive, until the rebels should meet with a check in some enterprise, and his own men, by rest and discipline, and exercise of their arms, might again recover their spirits, and forget the fear they had contracted of the enemy: he took care therefore to repair the works and fortifications at Drogheda, (as well as in so short a time could be done,) and got as much provision into the town as was possible; and then, with the full approbation of all the commissioners, he made choice of sir Arthur Aston, a catholic, and a soldier of very great experience and reputation, to be governor thereof, and put a garrison into it of two thousand foot and a good regiment of horse, all choice men and old soldiers, with very many gentlemen and officers of good name and account, and supplied it with ammunition and all other provisions, as well as the governor himself desired: and having done so, he marched with his horse and the small remainder of his foot to Trym,

whether he had sent to the lord Inchiquin to bring up as many men as he could out of Munster, (now the apprehension of Cromwell's landing there was over,) and endeavoured from all parts to recruit his army, hoping, before the rebels should be able to reduce any of his garrisons, to be able to take the field.

82 It was about the beginning of September when Cromwell marched out of Dublin, and with his whole army came before Drogheda: of which the lord lieutenant was no sooner advertised, than he came to Trym, to watch all opportunities to infest his quarters, and having a full confidence in the courage and experience of sir Arthur Aston, and the goodness and number of the garrison, that the rebels would not be able to get the town by an assault. But here again he found his expectation disappointed: the rebels resolved not to lose their time in a siege, and therefore, as soon as their summons was rejected, they made a breach with their cannon, and stormed the place; and though they were for some time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, in the end they entered, and pursued their victory with so much cruelty, that they put the whole garrison to the sword, not sparing those upon second thoughts to whom in the heat of the action they promised and gave quarter: so that except some few, who, during the time of the assault, escaped at the other side of the town, and others, who, by mingling with the rebels as their own men, so disguised themselves that they were not discovered, there was not an officer or soldier or religious person belonging to that garrison left alive; and all this within the space of nine days after the enemy appeared before the walls, and when very many were even glad that they were engaged before a place that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their farther progress for that season of the year.

83 This, indeed, was a much greater blow than that at

Rathmines, and totally destroyed and massacred a body of above two thousand men, with which, in respect of the experience and courage of the officers, and the goodness and fidelity of the common men, the marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages: and he had not now left with him above seven hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot, whereof some were of suspected faith, and many new raised men; and though the lord Inchiquin was ready to march towards him with a good party of horse and foot, and the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes with the like of the Scots of Ulster, yet he had neither money to give them one day's pay, nor provisions to keep them together for four and twenty hours; the commissioners were either dispersed, or their orders for collecting monies not executed or regarded: and when in those straits the lord lieutenant issued out warrants himself for the raising of men and money, they complained of breach of the articles of the treaty, and talked amongst themselves of treating with the enemy, that which was most counsellable, and which wise men saw was fittest to be practised, was to have put all their men into garrisons, and thereby secured the most considerable places, and therewithal (the winter now approaching) to have prosecuted their levies, and, by good discipline and exercise of their men, recovered their spirits against the spring. But, alas! this was not at all in the marquis's power to do; he was restrained by the articles of the treaty from making any new garrisons, and from changing any old governor, without the approbation of the commissioners; and he and the commissioners together had not credit and power enough with the chief cities and incorporate towns, which were most worth the keeping, and consequently most like to be attempted by the rebels, to force or persuade them to

receive garrisons ; so Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, the most considerable and best ports of the kingdom, declared they would admit no soldiers ; nor indeed did they further obey any other orders which were sent to them than they thought fit themselves.

84 If this fatal distemper and discomposure had not been discovered to be amongst them, it is not to be believed that Cromwell (what success soever he had met with) would have engaged his army, which, with being long at sea, change of air, and much duty, was much weakened, and had contracted great sickness in sieges, after the beginning of October ; yet, being encouraged, and, in truth, drawn on, by the knowledge of this humour and obstinacy of the Irish against all remedies which could preserve them, he marched with his army before Wexford, the citizens whereof appeared willing to make a defence, albeit they had too long neglected the means thereof, and were at last (when part of the rebels' army was lodged within half musket shot of their wall) content to receive an assistance of men from the lord lieutenant, which, upon the first intimation, his excellency hastened to them, of the choicest of those he had left, all catholics, (for that was still insisted on,) under the command of his cousin sir Edmond Butler, a man confessedly worthy of a greater charge, who with some difficulty passed the river to that part of the town which the rebels' army could not invest : but he had not been in the town an hour, when captain Stafford (who was the governor of the castle, and whom the lord lieutenant would have removed from that charge, as not being equal to it, but because he was a catholic, and had exercised that charge during the time that the confederates were in arms against the king) gave up the place to Cromwell, and took conditions under him, and thereby gave entrance to him into the town ; where all the soldiers were cruelly put to the sword, and sir Edmond

Butler himself, endeavouring (when he discovered the treachery) to escape, killed, before he had been one hour in the city.

85 From this current of success and corruption, nobody will wonder that the rebels marched on without control, and took Rosse and some other places without any opposition: yet the marquis, out of too deep a sense of the stupidity, waywardness, and ingratitude of that people, for whose protection and defence he had embarked himself, his fortune, and his honour, and whose jealousies and fond obstinacy made the work of their own preservation more difficult and impossible than the power of their enemies could do, desired nothing so much as an opportunity to fight the rebels, and either to give some check to their swollen fortune, or to perish in the action: and to that purpose drew all his friends to him, and sent for all the forces he could bring together from the provinces of Munster and Ulster.

86 From the time that the peace was concluded at Kilkenny, the lord lieutenant well discerned the mischief he should sustain by being to provide against the attempts of general Owen O'Neal, as well as against the English rebels, and that at least he could hope for no assistance from the Scots in Ulster as long as they feared him; and therefore he had sent Daniel O'Neal, nephew to the general, to persuade him to be included in the same peace: but he was so unsatisfied with the assembly, that he declared he would have nothing to do with them, nor be comprehended in any agreement they should make; but if the marquis would consent to some conditions he proposed, he would willingly submit to the king's authority in him. The marquis was content to grant him his own conditions, having indeed a great esteem of his conduct, and knowing the army under his command to be better disciplined men than any other of the Irish. But the commissioners of trust would by no

means consent to these conditions, and declared, if the lord lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an agreement, it would be a direct breach of the articles of the peace: and thereupon Owen O'Neal made that conjunction with Monke that was before remembered, and about the very time of the defeat at Rathmines relieved sir Charles Coote in Londonderry; and thereby kept the king from being entirely possessed of the province of Ulster, which but for that action would have been able to have sent a strong supply of men and provisions to the assistance of the marquis: and it is enough known, that whilst the lord lieutenant was in any hopeful condition to prevail against the rebels, the commissioners of trust and the principal persons of interest had no mind to agree with general O'Neal, out of animosity to his person and party, and in confidence that the work would be done without him; and others, who were of his party, had as little mind that he should be drawn to a conjunction with the marquis, because they knew, if he were once engaged under him, they should no more be able to seduce him to join with them in any actions of sedition: and upon these reasons, the persons who were deputed by the commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have the interest in him, on the one side persuaded Owen O'Neal that the lord lieutenant had already broken the articles of the peace, and that he could have no security that what should be promised should be performed to him; and on the other, informed the marquis, that he insisted on such extravagant propositions, that the commissioners of trust would never yield unto them: but after the arrival of Cromwell, and his success against Drogheda, the commissioners of trust thought it high time to unite with him; and Owen O'Neal himself discerned how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the English rebels, who, notwithstanding the signal services performed by him to them, had publicly dis-

avowed the agreement which their officers had made with him ; and thereupon, by the interposition again of Daniel O'Neal, all particulars were agreed between the lord lieutenant and him, with the consent of the commissioners of trust, about the time that Cromwell was before Wexford ; insomuch that he promised within few days to bring his army to join with the lord lieutenant, which (though himself lived not to execute it) was performed shortly after : so that about the time that Wexford was taken he was not without hope, by the advantage of passes, and by cutting off his provisions, to have made Cromwell's return to Dublin very hard without losing a good part of his army ; when, on a sudden and together, all the considerable places in the province of Munster revolted to the rebels, and thereby gave them a safe retreat and free passage, and necessary provisions of all that they wanted, and harbours for the ships to bring all to them that they could desire ; the lord Inchiquin being so totally betrayed by those officers whom he trusted most, and had most obliged, that after he had in vain tried to reduce them by force, he could not, without much difficulty, obtain the liberty and redelivery of his wife and children unto him, whom they had surprised in the city of Cork. This action, in this fatal conjuncture of time, when the straits Cromwell was in by the winter and the want of provisions had raised the spirits of all men, and when they looked upon themselves as like to have at least some hopeful encounter with him, was not a loss or a blow, but a dissolution of the whole frame of their hopes and designs, and introduced a spirit of jealousy and animosity into the army that no dexterity or interest of the lord lieutenant could extinguish or allay.

87 From the first hour of the peace, the English and the Irish had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the marquis much trouble ; and they were

rather incorporated by their obedience and submission to authority and the pleasure of their supreme commanders, than united by the same inclinations and affections to any public end; insomuch, as before the defeat of Rathmines there were many among the Irish who much feared the swift success of the army, and apprehended the lord lieutenant's speedy reducing of Dublin would give him much power, and make him more absolute than they desired to see him, and therefore were nothing sorry for that misfortune: on the other hand, the English were troubled to see the authority and jurisdiction of the marquis so restrained and limited by the articles, and that the army was neither recruited, disciplined, nor provided for as it ought to be, solely by his want of power, and they had a very low opinion of the spirit and courage of the Irish: but now, upon this defection in Munster, there was a determination of all confidence and trust in each other; the Irish declaring that they suspected all the English nation, and made the treachery of those who so infamously had betrayed their trust an unreasonable argument for the jealousy of those who remained in the army, who, being a handful of gallant men, and of most unshaken fidelity to the king, were indeed, in respect of their courage and experience in the war, the party to be principally depended upon in any action or encounter, and of which the enemy had only an apprehension.

88 Though the season of the year (for it was now towards the end of November) and the sickness that was in the rebels' army made it high time for them to betake themselves to their winter quarters, and such was their resolution; yet, Cromwell being well informed of this present distemper amongst those who made up the whole strength the lord lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing that the clergy had full dominion in all the incorporate towns and places of importance, and would keep the people from submitting to those expedients which could only

preserve them, he resolved to make one attempt more ; and so marched with his army, consisting of above two thousand horse and near five thousand foot, towards Waterford. This was the time when he encamped near Thomastown, within the distance of two or three miles of the marquis, and with which they have since reproached him, in some printed discourses, as an opportunity he voluntarily omitted and declined, when he might have fought with the rebels upon an advantage of ground and an equality of numbers ; whereas the truth is known to be, that (notwithstanding the jealousy and discomposure of humours in his army, the time being upon the defection in Munster, and the inequality in the numbers and quality of the men, for the rebels had near double the number in horse, and were superior in foot) the marquis had a resolution to have given battle to them, conceiving that disadvantage and extreme hazard to be reasonably to be preferred before those which he foresaw he should be forced to undergo without fighting ; but the very morning before they drew up in battalia near Thomastown, upon information from several persons, who pretended to have seen the enemy march towards Kilkenny, which was within the same distance from the place where they were encamped, or nearer than to that where he was, and the garrison being drawn out thence to strengthen the army for the encounter they expected, the marquis marched with all the horse, with as much speed as might be, to put himself between the town and the rebels, and so was absent when they discovered them to be drawn up on the hill ; and if he had been there, there was a river between them, which (if he would have fought) he must have passed by a bridge, where more than three could not march abreast, up a hill, upon a steep rising whereof the rebels had planted themselves in order of battle ; so that, if all other considerations

had been away, he could never [have] thought it reasonable to have engaged his army upon so manifest a disadvantage.

89 From hence Cromwell marched to Waterford, knowing well enough that the marquis could not keep the small body he had together two days; which was very true; for having not money enough to give them half a week's pay, nor provisions to serve them twenty-four hours, he was compelled to suffer the greater part of them to go to their quarters: however, he was resolved not to leave Waterford to the enemy, though they had so obstinately and disobediently refused to receive a garrison, which would have prevented their present pressure; whereas they were now closely besieged to their walls on all that side of the town which lay to Munster, the other being open, to be relieved by the river of Shure, which there severs Leinster from Munster, and washes the walls of the town on that side. The inhabitants, seeing destruction at their doors, abated so much of their former madness, as to be willing to receive a supply of soldiers, yet under a condition that they might be all of the old Irish of Ulster, who, under the command of Owen O'Neal, had longest opposed the king's authority, (and were now newly joined with the marquis;) and in express terms refused to receive any of their own neighbours and kindred, the confederate Irish catholics of Munster or Leinster, to the great offence and scandal of that part of the nation, which hath been as zealous for their religion as any. However, since there was no other way to preserve them, the lord lieutenant was content to comply even with that humour, and so choosing a strong party of near fifteen hundred men, and putting them under the command of lieutenant general Farrell, who was most acceptable to them, his excellency himself marched with them, and put them into the town; which he had no

sooner done, than Cromwell found it convenient to raise his siege, and shortly after betook himself to his winter-quarters.

90 It was the month of December, and a season, with frost and snow, as uneasy as that time of the year in that cold country hath at any time produced; yet the marquis having left the town, as he thought, full of the sense of the late benefit and preservation which they had received from him, and designing to himself to employ this time both in fortifying Waterford, and providing it better to resist the enemy, before they should be able to make another attempt upon it, and likewise in reducing Rosse and Wexford, and other places which the rebels had taken, and left but weakly manned and provided, he drew his forces together, and leaving them on the other side of the river Shure, himself, with a train only of forty or fifty horse, consisting of his friends and servants, went into the town, presuming that he should be able to persuade them to submit to and join in whatsoever should manifestly appear to be for their own benefit or advantage. When he came into the town, he found lieutenant general Farrell engaged in a design to take Passage, a place seized on by Cromwell, after he had retired from Waterford, and which was an inconvenient neighbour to that city: colonel Wogan, who had been seasonably sent by the marquis into Dungannon, (even when the Irish governor placed there by the confederate catholics was ready to deliver it up to the rebels,) and who had with notable courage defended it against Cromwell, and in the end, after the loss of a great number of his men, compelled him to retire, had agreed to meet lieutenant general Farrell at a place and hour appointed, and together to fall on Passage. Though the marquis had not been informed of the form and contrivance of the design, yet he knew well enough what interpretation would be made if his interposition or command or wariness should

divert it; therefore he was very willing that it should proceed, the matter, if well laid, and carried with secrecy, being hopeful enough. Lieutenant general Farrell had not been marched from the town many hours, when the marquis discovered, from some place of prospect in the town, a strong party of horse marching in good order the way which led to Passage, which belonging to the rebels, made him conclude that they had notice of the design; whereupon he presently sent for the mayor of the town, and shewing him the inevitable danger their whole party was in, which was their only strength against any enterprise of the enemy, (if they were not instantly relieved,) required him presently to send some boats over to the other side of the river, for the transporting of a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would himself endeavour to rescue them.

91 How apparent soever the damage and mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the remedy, all the commands and entreaties he could use could not prevail to get one boat, nor their consent that any of his horse should be suffered to march through the town, without which they could not go to their relief. When he had in vain tried all ways to convince and persuade them, he caused all his own friends and servants (which, as was said before, amounted not to above forty or fifty) to mount their horses, and with all imaginable haste himself led them towards Passage, that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent, the loss that was to ensue. When he came within sight of the town, he could discern a party of foot marching with great haste and disorder towards him, being pursued by the rebels' horse, who had even overtaken them, having fallen upon the remainder, and either killed them upon the place or taken them prisoners. Though the company that attended the marquis was too few to encounter the rebels with any reasonable hope, yet he

drew them up in that manner on the side of a hill, that the enemy, imagining their number to be more considerable, thought fit to lessen their pace, and to send a small party to discover; which being again entertained by the like number in light skirmishes, the foot as much improving their march, they were in the end, by the marquis's frequent exposing his own person to retard the rebels' pursuit, preserved: and so he brought back with him into the town about half those who had marched thence, and which had been infallibly destroyed if he had not taken even that desperate course to redeem them; as he might as surely have recovered all the others who were made prisoners, and defeated all that body of the rebels, and consequently taken Passage, if the city would have permitted his horse to have been transported over the river, and to have marched through it.

92 The marquis was by this last experiment sufficiently convinced how impossible it would be to persuade the town (which was entirely governed by the clergy) to suffer any part of his army to enter into it, which, in many respects, and especially for the finishing their works and fortifications, had been very necessary; on the other side, without the countenance and security of the town, and bringing his army over the river, it was as impossible to prosecute his design for the reduction of Passage, and those places mentioned before. He desired therefore no more of them, than that they would be contented that his army might for a little time be huddled under their walls, where they should receive their provisions and pay duly out of the country, and so should be a security and benefit to the town, without the least damage in any degree. But this proposition found no more regard than the former; and instead of consulting with what circumstances to comply with the so just and necessary demands of the king's lieutenant, it was proposed, in the council of the town, to seize upon his person, and to fall on all who be-

longed to him, as enemies; which advice met with no other reprehension, than that for the present the major part did not consent to it. Of all which, when the marquis was fully informed, he thought it time to depart from thence, and to leave them to their own imaginations; and so marched away with his army, which, after this indignity, it was as impossible to keep together, all the troops removing to those quarters where there was some means for their subsistence: himself went to his castle at Kilkenny, from whence he despatched an account to the king, (who was then in his island of Jersey,) of the true state of his affairs in that kingdom; by which his majesty might see how much his rebels, who disclaimed any subjection to him, prevailed against his authority, and how it was equally contemned or deluded or disregarded by his subjects, who made all professions of obedience and duty to him; which was a method these ill times had made his majesty too well acquainted with: and from this time (which was in the month of December, 1649) he never did nor ever could draw together into one body the number of five hundred men: what endeavour he used to do it will be mentioned in order hereafter.

93 As soon as the lord lieutenant came to Kilkenny, he consulted with the commissioners of trust (without whose approbation and consent he could do no act that was of importance) what remedies to apply to the strange disorder and confusion which spread itself over their affairs. They had been still present witnesses of all his actions, of his unwearied pains and industry, and of the little fruit that was reaped by it; how his orders and commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobeyed in all those particulars, without which an army could not be brought or kept together; how those places which the rebels had possessed themselves of had been, for the most part, lost by their own obstinate refusal to receive such assistance

from him as was absolutely necessary for their preservation ; and yet that they raised most unreasonable imputations and reproaches on him, as if he had failed in their defence or relief : they had seen the wonderful and even insupportable wants and necessities the army had always undergone, and knew well how all warrants had been disobeyed for the bringing in of money or provisions for the supply thereof ; and yet their country was full of clamour and discontent for the payment of taxes, and being exhausted with contributions, he desired them therefore to examine where any misdemeanors had in truth been, that they might be punished, or from whence the scandals and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be informed and composed. The commissioners had for the most part very diligently and faithfully intended the service from the beginning, according to the trust reposed in them ; yet there were some amongst them too able and dexterous in business, who always maligned the person of the marquis, or rather his religion, and the authority he represented, and what professions soever they made of respect to him, still maintained a close intelligence and correspondence with those of the clergy who were most disaffected to his majesty's interest, and who, from the misfortune at Rathmines, had underhand fomented and cherished all the ill humours and jealousies of the people.

94 The commissioners advised the marquis, as the best expedient to satisfy the country, that orders might be sent to them to elect some few persons amongst themselves, to send to Kilkenny as agents, to represent those grievances which were most heavy upon them, and to offer any desires which might promote their security ; alleging, that they would by this means be clearly informed how groundless their jealousies were, and the artifices would be discovered which had been used to corrupt their affections. Though the marquis well saw how tedious

and inconvenient this course might prove, and rather advance all scandalous and seditious designs than suppress them, yet he foresaw as well, that if it were declined by him, he should be unavoidably reproached with not being willing to be informed of the just grievances of the people, and consequently not to remedy them ; and therefore, without giving countenance to any such irregular conventions by any formal summons of his own, he gave way that the commissioners should write their letters to that purpose : and accordingly agents did come thither from the several counties, to communicate and present their complaints and desires together in January following ; and the lieutenant received them with good countenance, and wished them freely to consult together, and as soon as they could, to present whatsoever they had to say to him ; to which they should be sure to receive a speedy answer.

95 In the mean time, the bishops and clergy of themselves, and without any authority received or desired from the lord lieutenant, assembled at Clanmaenois, upon the river of Shannon ; upon whose counsels and conclusions all men's eyes were more fixed than upon what the agents should represent at Kilkenny ; it being very evident that, notwithstanding almost the whole catholic nobility of the kingdom, and all the principal persons of quality and interest, heartily concurred with the marquis ; and the commissioners of trust were for the most part as zealous for the execution and observation of the articles of the peace, and that the same might be rendered useful to the nation ; yet the clergy and religious persons had found means to obstruct that union, which was necessary for the carrying on the work, and especially had that influence upon the corporate towns, that no garrisons would be received there, or such submission paid to the lieutenant's or commissioners' orders, as were essential to their own defence, and to the making the war against

the rebels ; so that all men were in suspense what would be the issue of that meeting : and it cannot be denied, but that those bishops and that part of the clergy which were best affected, and knew the ways which were most conducing to the happiness of their country, prevailed so far, that the conclusions which were there made were full of respect to the king's service, and of wholesome advice and counsel to the people : they declared, “ how vain a thing it was to imagine that there could be any security for the exercise of their religion, for the enjoying their fortunes, or for the preservation of their lives, by any treaty with or promise from the English rebels ; that they abhorred all the factions, animosities, and divisions, which raged amongst themselves, to the hinderance of the public service ; and therefore enjoined all the clergy, of what quality soever, and ecclesiastical persons, by preaching, and all other ways, to incline the people to a union of affections, and to the laying aside all jealousies of each other, and unanimously to concur in the opposing the common enemy, and appointed the bishops and other superiors to proceed with great severity against those religious and spiritual persons, who should underhand cherish and foment those jealousies and divisions : ” in a word, they said so much and so well, that when the lord lieutenant was informed of it, and saw the extract of their determinations, he conceived some hope that it might indeed make some good impression on the people, and produce very good effects.

96 The agents from the country spent some time at Kilkenny in preparing the heads of such grievances as they thought fit to present to the lord lieutenant, who called still upon them to despatch ; but upon conference with the gravest of the commissioners, they found how groundless all those slanders were which they had believed before they came thither, and so could not agree upon any particulars to complain of : besides, they met with

some disturbance there. Cromwell, well knowing how the small forces were scattered abroad, marched with a strong party towards the town; with which the agents were so alarmed, that they would no longer stay there, but desired the marquis to let them adjourn to Ennis, in the county of Clare; which they did: and though they met there, yet they never agreed on the draught of any grievances to be presented, though they made that ill use of their meeting to propagate the scandals and imputations which had been groundlessly raised, and to inflame the people with the same untruths. Notwithstanding this alarm and the danger the lieutenant's person and the town were really in, all the power and authority he had could not in ten days draw five hundred men together to resist the enemy; however, the townsmen appeared so ready and prepared for their defence, and the marquis putting all his own friends and servants on horseback, with which he made a troop of about an hundred, looked with so good a countenance upon the enemy, that he retired; and shortly after, the lord lieutenant committed the charge of that place and the country adjacent to the earl of Castlehaven, and went himself upon a more important business to Limerick.

97 Though the rebels (by the faction and obstinacy of the people, who could not hitherto be induced to make a reasonable provision for defence) had prevailed very far, and possessed themselves of many good places without considerable opposition, yet there remained a good part of the kingdom free from their power; the whole province of Connaught was still entire, and the cities of Limerick and Galway in the possession of the catholics; which might be made so strong as not to fear any strength the rebels could bring before them, and are so situated for all advantages of the sea, that they might, being well supplied, maintain a war against the whole kingdom: there were men enough, so that there wanted only order

and resolution to preserve themselves. The marquis resolved to begin with Limerick; and if he could dispose that city to a full obedience, and to receive a garrison, he made no question, not only to fortify it against any attempt of the enemy, but, under the countenance of it, and by the security of the river of Shannon, to quarter his troops, raise contribution for their support, discipline his men, and in effect, by the spring, so to recruit his army, that he might [give battle] to the rebels wherever he should engage: and to this purpose he went himself thither from Kilkenny in the month of January, hoping that the good resolutions of the bishops at Clanmacnois had well prepared the people to comply with him. But when he came thither, albeit he was received with outward demonstrations of respect, he found the temper not such as he desired. Whatever the bishops had declared, the clergy had observed none of those directions, nor were any in so much credit as they who behaved themselves quite contrary to those determinations; and if no way could be found out to allay this spirit, all his endeavours, he saw, would be without any fruit: hereupon he resolved to try whether that part of the clergy which wished well to the kingdom could use as efficacious means to preserve, as others, who desired confusion, did to destroy it; and upon advice with the principal persons of the catholic nobility, and with the commissioners of trust, he did, about the end of February, by letters, desire as many of the catholic bishops as were within any convenient distance, to meet him at Limerick; which they accordingly did.

99 When they came thither, he conferred with them, in the presence of the commissioners of trust, with all frankness, upon the distracted and the disjointed state of the affairs, and freely told them, that without the people might be brought to have a full confidence in him, and yield a perfect obedience to him, and without the city of

Limerick might be persuaded to receive a garrison and obey his orders, it was not to be hoped that he could be able to do any thing considerable against the rebels: he desired them therefore, if they had a mistrust of him, or dislike of his government, that they would as clearly let him know it; assuring them, that such was his desire of the people's preservation, that there was nothing within his power, consistent with his duty to the king, and agreeable with his honour, that he would not do at their desire for that end; withal letting them see, that his continuance with the name, and not with the power of lord lieutenant, could bring nothing but ruin upon the nation, as well as dishonour upon him: so that he propounded to them in plain terms, either that they would procure due obedience to be yielded to him, or propose some other way, by his quitting the kingdom, how it might be preserved.

100 After consultation together, they returned with many expressions of respect and affection to his person, and faithfully promised to endeavour the procuring all that obedience he desired; withal presenting unto him a paper of advice, which contained, as they said, certain remedies for removing the discontents and disgusts of the people, and for advancing his majesty's service: amongst which they proposed, that a privy council might be framed of the peers and other natives of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, to sit daily with him, and determine all weighty affairs of the country by their counsel; and many other particulars concerning raising of men and conducting the war; to every one of which the marquis gave them an answer in writing: amongst which he told them, that he could not understand how the present distresses of the kingdom could proceed from the want of a privy council, nor how the framing such a council could advantage the management of the war, which by the articles of the peace was to be done by the com-

missioners of trust, with whom he did always communicate all matters of importance; and therefore he could not think fit unnecessarily to presume upon doing a thing for which he had neither power nor precedent, the nomination of all persons to be of the privy council being always reserved by the king to himself; yet, rather than there should be any thing wanting that was in his power to satisfy the people in, he wished that the particular acts which the privy council had heretofore done, and were now necessary to be done, might be instanced; and as far forth as should appear necessary and fit, he would qualify persons free from just exceptions with such powers: and so answered all their propositions, that they seemed to be well satisfied therewith; and thereupon published a declaration, in which they professed, that they had and would endeavour to root out of men's hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions, conceived either against his excellency or the present government: and they entreated him to give them further instructions; declaring, that they were not deterred for want of expected good success in the affairs of the kingdom, but rather animated to give further onsets, and to try all other possible ways: and did faithfully promise, that no industry or care should be wanting in them to receive and execute his directions.

101 When the marquis first proposed to the commissioners of trust that Limerick and other places might be garrisoned and fortified, he offered unto them the names of three persons of the Roman catholic religion, and of eminent quality, reputation, and fortunes, that out of them they might choose one for the command of Limerick; but resolving afterwards to call this assembly of the bishops thither, and to be there himself in person, he deferred the proceeding further in it till then, that with their own advice such a person might be chosen for that important charge, as should be beyond any possibility of a just exception from that corporation. Now he took all ima-

ginable pains, and descended to all the arts of persuasion, to satisfy those of the city, who he perceived were the most leading men, of the necessity of their speedy receiving a governor and a garrison, for the preservation of their own interest, and whatsoever could be of value with any people : but he was so far from prevailing with them, that they performed not those outward civilities and respects to him which had been in no other place denied. The officer who commanded the city guards neither came to him for orders, [n]or imparted them to him. No officer of the army, nor any other person, could without special leave from the mayor (which was often very hardly obtained) be admitted to come to his presence, to receive his commands and directions for resisting and opposing the rebels, who at that very time prevailed in the very county of Limerick itself; and to publish yet more the contempt they had of the king's authority, they committed to prison the lord viscount Killmallock, a catholic peer of the realm, and an officer of the army, (the lord lieutenant himself being upon the place;) for no other reason than for quartering for one night some few horse under his command, by the marquis's own order, within the liberties of that city.

102 All this being done so contrary to the injunctions which the bishops had published for the direction of the people, and at a time when they were assembled there, and when he despaired of persuading them to what so absolutely concerned their proper safety, the marquis believed it would not be agreeable to the honour of his master to remain any longer in a place where such affronts and contempts were put upon his authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good effects from the observation and discretion of the bishops, who could not but discern what ruin must immediately attend such license and disobedience, he appointed all the said bishops, and as many more as could be persuaded to come thither,

and the commissioners, to meet him some few days after at Loghreah, where about the 19th of March they attended accordingly.

103 When they appeared again at Loghreah, the marquis represented to their memories what they had before been themselves witnesses of and observed at Limerick, and the neglects he had borne there; desired them to remove those causeless distrusts, which being maliciously infused into the people's minds did slacken, if not wholly withdraw their obedience from his majesty's authority; wished them to consider how impossible it was for him, with honour, or any hope of success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obeyed, and plentifully supplied enemy; himself under such domestic disadvantages of distrusts and disobedience: and concluded, that if the consequence of the service could not induce them to be all of one mind in the putting a garrison into Limerick, or if (being of one mind) they could not induce the city to obedience and submission to such their determination, he could no longer entertain hope of giving any check to the successes of the enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherwise to dispose of himself.

104 Both the bishops and the commissioners were really (or at least seemed) so entirely convinced of the necessity of erecting that garrison, and of putting that city into a better posture of defence than it then appeared to be, that the commissioners, in whom that trust was, reposed by the articles of the peace, ordered it to be done; and sent two of their own members with their order to Limerick, and with a letter to the mayor to conform thereunto; and the bishops writ to the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Limerick, both then at Limerick, desiring them to use their utmost endeavours to incline the city to submit to the directions of the lord lieutenant and the commissioners: and having done this, they departed to those places they thought fit, to

dispose the people (as they professed) to all acts of conformity and obedience. But the commissioners in a short time returned from Limerick, without having in any degree prevailed with them to receive either governor or garrison, or to conform themselves to any orders the lieutenant or the commissioners should send to them, otherwise than as they agreed with their own inclinations: instead of making choice of any one of those three who were nominated to them for their governor, all of the Roman catholic religion, of very considerable interest in the kingdom, and of great reputation, they upon the matter declared that they would keep that power in their own hands; and for the receiving a garrison, they proposed some particulars, what men of the Irish catholics they would receive, and what they would not; what course should be taken for the support of them, and through what hands it should pass; and many other things directly contrary to the articles of the peace which had been with solemnity proclaimed in that city, and to which they had professed all submission.

105 All this perverseness and obstinacy and ingratititude could not yet extinguish the affection and compassion the marquis had towards them; and he clearly discerned that it proceeded not from a spirit that was enclosed and confined within those walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other places: he was well enough satisfied, that they who were most passionately possessed with it had no correspondence with the English rebels, nor had a mind to be subjected to their power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancied and imagined some expedients to themselves for their own preservation which could not fall within his comprehension, and that they might have contracted a prejudice to his person, or to his religion, which might keep them from such an union and confidence as they might be reduced to under some catholic, who might be as zealous to preserve his

majesty's interest and to recover the kingdom to his obedience; and he was the more confirmed in this apprehension by revolving several passages which had happened at his being at Limerick during the time that they seemed to pay him much respect: the lord Inchiquin had been then with him, towards whom they had observed the marquis had a great confidence and friendship, (as he well deserved;) some principal persons of the city, and with them some of the bishops, had, under the show of great confidence and trust, repaired to the lord lieutenant, and declared to him, that all that indisposition and waywardness in the people proceeded from the prejudice they had to the lord Inchiquin, who had always, they said, prosecuted the war against them with most rigour and animosity; and those places and persons who had been most at his devotion having treacherously revolted to the rebels, the people were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great an interest in the marquis; so that if he would dismiss that lord, and discharge the troops which yet remained under his command, (and of which some frequently ran away to the rebels,) not only that city, but the whole nation, would as one man be at his disposal.

106 Whilst these insinuations were thus derived to the lord lieutenant, other persons (and those as leading men with an equal number of the bishops) applied themselves to the lord Inchiquin, [and] told him, that whilst the affairs were conducted by the marquis of Ormond they expected no good fortune; that they looked upon him as not of their nation, and one so solicitous for the English interest, and for all Englishmen, that he was nothing regardful of theirs; that his lordship was of the most ancient extraction of Ireland, and under that notion looked upon with great affection and reverence by the Irish; and if the government and command were exercised by him, there would be such an obedience paid to him, that he would in a short time grow strong enough to oppose the

enemy, and to recover his country. When these two lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent addresses which had been made to them, and agreed together how to draw on and encourage the proposers, that they might discover as much of their purposes as was possible, they easily found their design was to be rid of them both ; and when they perceived, by the continuance of the same friendship, that they had communicated with each other, they less dissembled towards both, but proceeded with those disrespects which are mentioned before.

107 The marquis having sadly reconsidered all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him that he could possibly imagine might tend in any degree to the recovery or preservation of the kingdom, he appointed a second meeting to be at Loghreah, and summoned thither all the catholic bishops, as many of the nobility as could with any security come thither, the chief gentlemen of quality of the parts adjacent, and the principal officers of the army ; and being met together, he gave them, in the first place, an answer in writing to the grievances which had been presented to him at the former meeting, in which he made it evident how much they were mistaken in much of the matter of fact ; that [what] was really amiss proceeded entirely from themselves, and their not observing the orders and rules they were bound by, and could not be prevented by him ; and consented to all the good and practicable ways proposed by themselves for the remedying the like for the future. He remembered them of the pains he had taken, of the propositions he had made, of the orders he had given, and the neglects, disobedience, and affronts he had received, by which alone the rebels had made that progress in their successes. He shewed them a letter he had lately received from his master the king, bearing date on the second of February, from Jersey, in answer to one he had writ to his majesty in December,

to give him an account of the ill state of the kingdom, and the carriage of the city of Waterford, then newly to him, which is set down at large before ; upon perusal whereof his majesty had in this letter signified his pleasure to him, that in case of the continuance of that disobedience in the people, and contempt of his authority, his lieutenant should withdraw himself and his majesty's authority out of the kingdom : he told them, having received so little effects of all the pains he had taken, and so ill returns for all the affection he had shewed to them, he was resolved to make use speedily of the liberty the king had given him, as to his own person, which he found was rendered so unacceptable to the people ; yet if they could propose to him any way how he might deposit the king's authority in such a manner as it might not be exposed to the same affronts it had received in him, and might be applied to preserving the people and recovering the kingdom, he would gladly gratify them, and would heartily wish that they might receive that happiness by his absence which they would not receive in his presence ; and to that purpose desired them to consult seriously and maturely amongst themselves.

108 Upon this, all the bishops, the nobility, and the commissioners of trust, with the principal gentlemen, expressed very much trouble at the resolution the marquis had taken ; and on the last day of April, in the year 1650, made an address to him in writing, under their several hands, in which, amongst other things, they told him, that they conceived themselves in duty bound, for his better information of the inclinations of that nation, humbly to present unto him, that, however his excellency might not have met with a ready concurrence to some proposals made for advancing his majesty's service, occasioned through some misunderstanding in some few persons and places, yet the country generally, and the nation in it, as they had already, by expending their substance in an ex-

traordinary measure, and their lives upon all occasions, abundantly testified the sincere and irremoveable affections to preserve his majesty's rights and interest entire unto him, so they would for the future, and with the like cheerfulness, endeavour to overcome all the difficulties which the enemy's power and success had laid in their way; and that they who were there met (and they doubted not but the same was the general sense of the nation) would, with all care and earnestness, endeavour, not only to conserve in the people such their good inclination, but if any persons or place should be refractory, or decline that obedience which is due to his majesty's authority, they would contribute their best endeavours to reduce them, and to make them conformable to the same; and, after many other specious professions and protestations of their zeal to obey his excellency, they humbly besought him to appoint commanders in the several provinces, to whom those of his majesty's subjects (who, by the excitement of the clergy, ready with alacrity to undergo that care, should be encouraged to take arms) might repair for opposing the power of the rebels.

¹⁰⁹ How respective soever this address was, and how solemnly soever it was represented, the lord lieutenant was resolved not to be longer satisfied with those general declarations of their good desires and purposes; and therefore the very next day he sent them a letter, containing what he would expect from them, the which, for the more clear manifestation of the whole proceeding, shall be here faithfully inserted, and was in these words:

¹¹⁰ "After our hearty commendations, in answer to your letter of the last of April, we think fit to put you in mind, that upon our communicating unto you his majesty's letter of the second of February, we then acquainted you at large with what had passed at Waterford, which, being by us represented to his majesty,

occasioned his sending the said letter; as also, that we found the city of Limerick had taken example thereby to affront and contemn his majesty's authority placed in us, and from us, by consent of the representative of the confederate catholics, at the conclusion of the peace derived to the commissioners; both which you pass over, with an extenuation of those disobediences, and (by attributing them to some misunderstandings) you seem, in a manner, to excuse them: whereas we had reason to expect, that (suitable to your general professions) you would have resented the particular deportment of those places, and proposed to us how the contrivers thereof might be brought to justice, and reduced to perfect obedience: for as your professions of care and earnestness to endeavour, not only to conserve in the people the good inclinations you find in them, but that if any person or place shall be refractory, or decline that perfect obedience due to his majesty's authority, you will contribute your best endeavours to reduce them, and make them conformable to the same, cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but by applying those endeavours, where we give you particular undeniable instances of refractoriness and disobedience; so there can be no instance thereof be more pregnant, nor (if it be persisted in) more destructive to his majesty and the nation, than that of Limerick; to the immediate reducing whereof, we therefore thought, and do now expect, you would effectually apply yourselves. We are well satisfied that the generality of the country and nation, who have given the proofs you mention of their sincere affections to preserve his majesty's rights entire unto him, will persevere therein, if those upon whose examples and advice they very much fix their resolutions be active and industrious to lead and exhort them thereunto: but we must withal let you know, that we cannot hope that those their good affections and alacrity, in defence of his majesty and their own interests, can be successful, if the city of Limerick and all other cities and towns be not in perfect obedience, and immediately put under a military government for military matters, and thereby into a condition of defence and offence; which to conceal from the people were towards them as great a treachery, as it would be in us a vain rashness, without such obedience first gained, to attempt the opposing the strength and power of the rebels. And therefore we must and do declare, that as the

particular refractoriness of the city of Waterford hath, more than any other human means, contributed to all the successes of the rebels in those parts since our being at Waterford; and as the want of a strong garrison in Limerick (which we long since desired might be put there, but could not prevail) hath been the greatest visible means whereby the said rebels have, with small or no resistance, gained or destroyed the county of Limerick and other parts adjacent; so the entire loss of the kingdom to his majesty, and the destruction of the nation, (which we have no hope to prevent but by presently and strongly garrisoning and fortifying the said city,) must be imputed to the obstinacy of that city, if it shall persist therein, and to whoever encourages or connives with them therein.. As to the distrusts and jealousies of the people, occasioned (as you say) for want of success in services, the sense of their sufferings, and their apprehensions for want of redress of their grievances, we answer, that both the want of success, and the sense of their sufferings, whether from the enemy or from the soldier, cannot so reasonably be imputed to any human cause as to the want of garrisoning the army in principal towns and cities, wherein we cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by the enemy's lying at one end of a town we were (not without articling and conditioning) permitted to put such men as we could then get in at the other end; for, for want of garrisoning the army, and by being forced to quarter it at large, it was not possible to have them exercised, their arms kept in order, nor they under necessary discipline; which (when they were to be brought together) rendered them worse than so many new raised men by how much they had contracted a licentious liberty and habit of rapine and disobedience: nor could we prevent the fraud in musters, or reasonably exact a strict account from officers, of men so scattered, who, when they should be employed upon service, were forced, or pretended a necessity, (wherein we could not disprove them,) to range the country to get in the means that should enable them to serve.

III "As to their apprehensions for want of redress of their grievances; we understand not what grievances are thereby meant, unless those delivered into us by the archbishop of Tuam on the first day of April; for other grievances, though we long expected and desired them, we never saw; save a

paper given to us on the 12th of March at Limerick; which for the forgery, calumny, and other misbecoming passages contained in it, was, as such, disowned by the clergy then met: and to those given us on the first of April we return you herewith such answers as (considering the generality of them) is possible for us to give.

112 “ We have already, with the advice of the commissioners, and (as we believe) with the approbation of such of the bishops as were present, appointed the earl of Castlehaven to command the forces in Leinster; and with like advice and approbation, we have employed colonel David Roche to command for a necessary expedition; besides, there always is upon the place there, one general officer, that will readily receive and employ any that shall be prevailed with to take arms, as is promised; and in case we find fit obedience and reception from the city of Limerick, we shall be ready in person to receive and conduct such forces in the said province.

113 “ In Ulster we have, in pursuance of the agreement made with that province, given our commission to the bishop of Clogher; and in Connaught, the lord marquis of Clanrickard commands the army. We know no use, to which any money raised upon the people [hath] been employed, but to the maintenance of the forces; if you do, we shall desire to be therein informed, to the end that any past misapplication thereof may be examined and punished, and the like prevented in the future.

114 “ To conclude, we seriously recommend to your consideration the ways of procuring such obedience to his majesty and his authority in the general, and particularly from the city of Limerick, as may enable and encourage us, with honour and hope of success, according to our desire, to use our uttermost industry, and encounter all hazards, for the defence of this kingdom and nation, against the tyranny that will certainly be exercised upon them, and the insupportable slavery they will be subject unto, if the rebels prevail: and so we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Your very loving friend,

From Loghreagh, the 1st of May, 1650.

“ ORMOND.”

Directed, “ *For the archbishops, nobility, bishops, the commissioners authorized by us, in pursuance of the articles of peace, and others assembled at Loghreagh.*”

115 Upon the receipt of this letter, they made another address to the marquis in writing, in which they said, they were very far from intending, by any expressions they had used, to excuse the deportment of the city of Limerick ; nor could any man (they said) more feelingly than they resent their personal disrespects towards his excellency whilst he was lately in that city ; whereof they had, in their letters, then ready to be sent by a committee employed by them to that corporation, taken notice ; and they did hope, that they would by their deportment hereafter merit to have it understood that it proceeded from ignorance rather than malice ; and that, concerning the garrisoning of that city, the clergy, (that had met lately there,) and the commissioners of trust, had written very effectually to them, and employed two of the commissioners of trust thither, to solicit their compliance to his excellency, and to represent unto them the danger and prejudice that would ensue their refractoriness : and though it had not taken that effect with them which was expected, yet they humbly offered to his excellency, that a second essay was to be made, and his excellency's further positive commands to be sent thither ; whereunto if they would not listen, they promised, as much as in them lay, that they would, in their respective degrees and qualities, and according to their respective powers, so far as should be thought fit and necessary, upon consideration had of what hath been proposed hitherto between his excellency and the commissioners of trust and them concerning the garrisoning of that city, cooperate to reclaim them, and bring them to perfect obedience ; humbly desiring, that what resolution soever should be taken by that city, yet that his excellency would be pleased not to impute it to any disaffection in them, or want of zeal in the nation, to advance his majesty's service ; and, in regard the transacting of that business might take up some time, it was humbly desired his

excellency would be pleased to apply his immediate care to the forwarding of the service, and settling of affairs in the other parts of the kingdom, answerable to the present dangers and condition wherein it was ; that there might be some visible opposition to the growing power of the enemy. At the same time that they sent this address to the marquis, signed by the bishops and the commissioners, (which was in the beginning of May 1650,) they likewise sent the archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon to Limerick, with as reasonable and pressing letters to the corporation for the receiving a garrison as could be writ.

116 This demeanour in the assembly, and all the visible results of their consultations, together with their so deep professions of loyalty to the king, and of respect to his lieutenant, prevailed so far with the marquis, that he again declined his purpose of quitting the kingdom ; and thereupon he dismissed a frigate which he had bought and fitted for his transportation. And though the archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon returned from Limerick without that entire submission from the city which was expected, yet he was willing to make the best interpretation of their general professions of duty, and to believe that they would by degrees be induced to do what they ought ; and that he might be nearer to them, to encourage any such inclination, he removed to Clare, twelve miles from Limerick, and gave orders to the troops, which, for conveniency of quarter, were scattered at too great distances, to be ready to draw to a rendezvous ; and he was shortly after (very reasonably) induced to be almost confident that the city was well disposed ; for having one day (about the 11th of June) visited some troops which he had assembled within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare, the next day two aldermen of that city came to him with this following letter from the mayor of that corporation :

" May it please your excellency,

117 "The city council have given me in command to signify and humbly to offer unto your excellency, that it was expected by them, that you would, being so near this city yesterday, bestow a visit on it; the which is no way doubted had been done by your excellency, if your greater affairs had not hindered you from the same; and they do yet expect, when those are over, your excellency will be pleased to step hither to settle the garrison here, the which without your presence cannot be (as is humbly conceived) so well done, or with that expedition as our necessity requires; the particulars whereof we refer to the bearers, alderman Peirce Creagh and alderman John Bourke, their relation; to whom we desire credence may be given by your excellency, and to believe that I will never fail to be

" Your excellency's

Limerick, 12th June, 1650.

" most humble servant,

" Jo. Creagh, mayor of Limerick."

118 This letter might very well have raised an expectation and assurance that there would be now no more scruple of receiving a garrison; yet the aldermen who brought it made such pauses in the answering some necessary questions, that the marquis returned them the same night with this answer:

119 "After our hearty commendations, we have received your letters of this day's date, by the conveyance of alderman Peirce Creagh, and heard what alderman John Bourke and he had to say as from that corporation: in answer whereunto, we imparted some particulars unto them, wherein we expect satisfaction: which if you send us to the rendezvous to-morrow, (where we intend to be,) we shall visit that city, and employ our utmost endeavours in the settling the garrison necessarily desired there, both for the defence and satisfaction of that city: and so we bid you heartily farewell.

" Your loving friend,

Clare, 12th June, 1650.

" ORMOND."

120 The particulars he proposed were, first, to be received in like manner, and with such respects, as lord

lieutenants heretofore had always been: secondly, to have the command of the guards, the giving the word and orders in the city: thirdly, that there might be quarter provided within the city for such guards of horse and foot as he would carry in, which should be part of the garrison, whereof a list should be given at the rendezvous.

121 The next day, when the marquis came to the rendezvous, the two aldermen met him there, and informed him that the city had consented to all that he had proposed to them, (except only the admittance of his guards, which they were unwilling to do;) whereupon he sent the messengers presently back with this answer, that he intended not the drawing in his guards out of any mistrust he had of the loyalty of the magistrates of that city to his majesty, or of their affection to himself, but for the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent any popular tumult that might be raised by desperate uninterested persons against him, or the civil government of the city, whereunto he had cause to fear some loose people might by false and frivolous suggestions be too easily instigated; and to take away all possibility of suspicion from the most jealous, that he could have no end to the prejudice of the city, he told them, the guards he meant to take in with him should consist but of one hundred foot and fifty horse, and even those to be entirely of their own religion, and such as, having been constantly of their confederacy, were interested in all the benefits of the articles of the peace: and so, not imagining that they could refuse so reasonable an overture, he went towards the city. But when he was come very near the gates, the same aldermen came again to him, to let him know that there was a tumult raised in the city by a Franciscan friar, called father Wolf, and some others, against his coming into the town, and in opposition to the desires and intentions of the mayor and principal

citizens ; and therefore they dissuaded his going thither until the tumult should be quieted : so that the lieutenant was compelled with that affront to return, and rested that night at Shanbally, three miles from the city; from whence he writ to them the sense he had of the indignity offered to him, and wished them to consider not only by what power they had been made a corporation first, and by whose protection they had since flourished, but also what solid foundations of safety (other than by receiving the defence he had⁴ offered) was or could be proposed to them by the present disturbers of their quiet ; and desired their present answer : that in case he might be encouraged to proceed in the ways he had laid down of serving the king, and preserving that city from the tyranny of the rebels, he might immediately apply himself thereunto ; or failing in his desires therein, he might apply himself, and the forces he had gathered for that purpose, to some other service.

122 But neither this nor all he could do upon subsequent treaties and overtures moving from themselves could at all prevail with them ; no, not his offer of putting himself into the city, and running the fortune of it, when Ireton was encamped before it : but they continually multiplied and repeated their affronts towards him, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt, (and in the end, that we may have no more occasion of mentioning the seditious carriage of this unfortunate city,) broke open his trunks of papers, (which he had left there,) seized upon stores of corn laid up there for the supply of the army, when he believed that place would have been obedient to him, and some corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own pleasure, and received some troops of horse into the city, which contrary to the marquis's order left the army, and with those troops raised and levied contribution in the county of Clare upon those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the army,

according to those orders which they were to obey : and when the marquis sent to the mayor, to deliver the officer of the said regiment as a prisoner to a guard appointed to receive him, he could obtain no other answer, (and that not in a week's time,) than that the government of that city was committed to major general Hugh O'Neal, and therefore he, the mayor, would not meddle therein : and when the like order was sent by the marquis to Hugh O'Neal, he returned answer, that he was only a cipher, and not suffered to act any thing but what the mayor and council thought fit : so that in truth that city was no less in rebellion then to the king than the army under Ireton was ; though it did for a time resist that army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that obedience to the king as by all their obligations it ought to have been ; and therefore must have the less peace of conscience to support them in the calamities they have since undergone.

123 In the letter formerly inserted from the marquis, about the beginning of May, to the bishops and commissioners assembled at Loghreagh, it is said, that in pursuance of a former agreement he had granted a commission to the bishop of Clogher for the command of the province of Ulster ; it will be therefore necessary to express what that agreement was, and the proceedings thereupon.

124 Amongst the articles which had been made with general Owen Ro O'Neal, it was provided, that in case of the said Owen O'Neal's death, or removal by advancement, or otherwise, before any settlement in parliament, (to which all the articles of peace related,) that the nobility and gentry of the province of Ulster should have power to name one to the lord lieutenant, or chief governer for his majesty, to command in place of the said Owen O'Neal ; and the said command was to be conferred accordingly on the person so to be named : and according to this power, Owen O'Neal being dead, the nobility,

bishops, and principal gentry of that province made choice of the bishop of Clogher to succeed him in the charge; and having signified such their election under their hands to the lord lieutenant, about the middle of March, he granted such a commission to him as he was obliged to do; and the bishop with great activity and courage proceeded in the infesting the English rebels in that province as much as was in his power; and having an army consisting of about five thousand men, horse and foot, about the twenty-third day of June, in the year 1650, (when the lord lieutenant himself could not draw one thousand men together, nor keep them, if together, the space of eight and forty hours,) he encountered, not far from Londonderry, with sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English rebels in chief in that quarter, and was then inferior in foot to the bishop, though otherwise he had a great advantage of him, by having near treble the number of horse; notwithstanding which inequality, the Irish behaved themselves with courage, but in the end were totally defeated; so that the bishop was compelled, after he saw the day was irrecoverably lost, to quit the field with a small party of horse that attended him; the next day in his flight he had the misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the governor of that town, in the head of a party too strong for him, against which, however, the bishop defended himself with notable courage; and after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become a prisoner, upon promise first, that he should have fair quarter; contrary to which, sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty which he could devise.

125 This was the unfortunate end of this unfortunate prelate, of whom, since he bore so great a part in the troubles of Ireland, and was much superior in parts to any man of that party, it will not be impertinent nor uncha-

ritable to mention some particular passages of his life, that thereby his nature and disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the spirit and temper of mind which that kind of men were possessed with, who had the greatest abilities to do hurt some few years before the rebellion.

126 This Ever Mac Mahon, being then arch-priest, and residing for the most part in or near Dublin, repaired to sir George Radcliffe, who had then a principal part in managing the affairs of state in Ireland; and being admitted to his presence, desired to have some private conference with him without the presence of any other: all attendants and strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his knees, and said, he came to put his life into his hands; told him he had committed many treasons against the king, for which he felt that remorse of conscience; that he resolved rather to offer his life as a sacrifice by confessing it, than endure the torment he felt by concealing it; that he was capable of no quiet of mind but by this disburdening himself; and if, by the grace and mercy of the king, he might obtain a pardon for what was past, he would in such a manner apply himself to his majesty's service, that he would in some degree merit the benefit: and then told him several treaties which were abroad with foreign princes, in order to the disturbance of the peace of that realm.

127 Upon hearing him, and those great expressions of penitence, sir George writ to one of the secretaries of state in England to inform his majesty of all the particulars, who (according to the clemency of his nature) sent a warrant over for the preparing and passing his pardon, the which, shortly after, sir George delivered to him, who again falling on his knees, and magnifying the mercy of the king, said, he had now peace of mind, and desired nothing but to deserve the favour of so gracious a sovereign; that he would content himself with that evidence

of his majesty's goodness, without making further use of it, or suing out his pardon according to the formality and rule of the law, which, though necessary for his own security, would (being that way made public) disenable him from doing his majesty that service he intended, since he should not be admitted to those trusts without which he could make no discoveries.

128 From henceforward, during the whole government of the earl of Strafford, he gave frequent advertisements of some agitations by obscure and unknown persons of that nation, at Rome, and in France and Spain; which were rather instances of murmuring and seditious purposes, than reasonably like to produce any notable disturbance. From the beginning of the rebellion his power was very great with those who had [been] most, and he was with least dissimulation still, violently opposite to any reconciliation; upon the first and second conclusion of the peace by the confederate catholics; and so he continued firm to that party which followed Owen O'Neal, or rather governed Owen O'Neal, who commanded that party; and over and above those demands which concerned religion, (to which they seemed to adhere with more than ordinary zeal, and thereby drew the dependance of the clergy to them,) they insisted upon the restitution of great estates in Ulster, which was not in the power of the crown to make without the violation of several acts of parliament, and defeating many descents and purchases, which had passed without any interruption or claim for the space of one hundred and fifty years. This impossible expectation kept both Owen O'Neal and the bishop of Clogher from concurring with the confederate catholics in the peace they made with his majesty; and the animosity they contracted against the confederates inclined them to relieve Londonderry, when (as is remembered before) it was even ready to be reduced by his majesty's forces, rather than to submit to the peace made by them

with the lord lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that agreement with the marquis, it must be acknowledged that the bishop performed, and observed it very justly, (as he was punctual in what he promised,) and applied himself with all dexterity and industry to the advancement of his majesty's interest ; so that during his time he restrained the clergy in all their assemblies from making any acts which might discourage the people from their obedience to the king's authority ; and therefore, how inconvenient soever his life had been to the peace and happiness of that nation, his death was very unseasonable ; which was remarkable and notorious in these circumstances, that within less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neal to relieve sir Charles Coote in Londonderry, (who must otherwise within few days have delivered it to the king,) he was himself and his army very near the same place defeated by the same sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and his life promised, executed by his positive order and command whom he had preserved.

129 Towards the end of July the marquis received a letter, subscribed by the two persons who styled themselves the archbishops of Dublin and of Tuam, in these words :

130 “ *May it please your excellency,*

“ This nation, become of late a fable and reproach of Christianity, is brought to a sad condition, notwithstanding the frequent and laborious meetings and consultations of the prelates : we find jealousies and fears deep in the hearts of men, thorns hard to take out ; we see most men contributing to the enemy, and rendering their persons and substance useless to his majesty, and destructive to religion and the king's interest : this kind of men, if not timely prevented, will betray irremediably themselves and us : we find no stock or substance ordered for maintaining the soldiers, nor is there an army (any way considerable) in the kingdom to recover what is lost, or defend what we hold : so as, humanly speaking, if God will not be pleased, for his mercy

sake, to take off from us the heavy judgment of his anger, we are fair for losing sacred religion, the king's authority, and Ireland. The four archbishops, to acquit their consciences in the eyes of God, have resolved to meet at Jamestown, about the sixth day of the next month, and to bring along as many of the suffragans as may repair thither with safety: the end of this consultation is to do what in us lies for the amendment of all errors, and recovery of this afflicted people. If your excellency will think fit in your wisdom to send one or more persons to make proposals for the safety of the nation, we shall not want willingness to prepare good answers; nor will we despair of the blessing of God and of his powerful influence to be upon our sincere intentions in that place; even so we conclude, remaining

“ Your excellency's humble servants,

“ FA. THO. DUBLIN,

July 24, 1650.

“ FA. AR. TUAM.”

131 Whoever reads this summons or intimation will believe it to be *satis pro imperio*, and that such a direction to send one or more persons to make proposals to them for the safety of the nation, and such a negligent expression, that they shall not want willingness to prepare good answers, could not proceed but from some superior to an inferior dependent: however, as the marquis knew it would be to no purpose to inhibit their meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in this manner:

132 “ After our hearty commendations, we received yours of the twenty-fourth of July on the first of this month, and do with much grief acknowledge, that this nation is brought into a sad condition, and that by such means, as when it shall be known abroad, and by story be delivered to posterity, will indeed be thought a fable; for it will seem incredible that any nation should so madly affect and violently pursue the ways leading to their own destruction as this people will appear to have done; and that, after the certain ruin they were running into was evidently and frequently discovered unto those, that in all times, and upon all other occasions, have had power to persuade or compel

them to whatever they thought fit ; and it will be less credible, when it shall be declared, as with truth it will be, that the temporal, spiritual, and eternal interest and safety even of those that had this power, (and that have been thus forewarned,) did consist in making use of it to reclaim the people, and direct them into the ways of preservation. To be plain, it cannot be denied but the disobediences we have met with, (which we at large declared to many of you, who with divers of the nobility and gentry were assembled at Loghreagh in April last,) were the certain ready ways to the destruction of this nation, as by our letters to that assembly we made apparent ; and ancient and late experience hath made as evident what power those of your function have had to draw the people of this nation to what they thought fit : whether your lordships have been convinced that the obedience which we desired should be given to his majesty's authority in us, pursuant to the articles of peace, was the way to preserve the nation, we know not ; or whether your lordships have made use of all the means at other times and upon other occasions exercised by you to procure this necessary obedience, we shall not now determine : sure we are, that since the said assembly, not only Limerick hath persisted in the disobedience it was then in, and aggravated the same by several affronts since fixed upon the king's authority, but Galway hath been seduced into the like disobedience, for want of a due compliance from those places, but principally from Limerick. It hath been impossible for us to raise or employ an army against the rebels ; for to attempt it any where on the other side of the Shannon but near Limerick, and without the absolute command of that city to secure it, could be no other than the certain ruin of the design in the very beginning of it ; and to have done it on this side the Shannon was impossible, since the groundwork of the army must be raised and supported from hence ; which, whilst it was in forming, would have exhausted all the substance of these parts, and not have effected the work : for want of such an army (which, with God's assistance, might certainly have been long since raised, if Limerick had obeyed our orders) the rebels have, without any considerable resistance from abroad, taken Clonmell, Terroghan, and Catherlagh, and reduced Waterford and Duncannon to great (and we fear irrecoverable) distress. The loss of these places, and the want of any visible power to protect

them, hath doubtlessly reduced many to contribute their substance and personal assistance to the rebels ; from whence whether they might have been withheld by your church censures we know not, but have not heard of any such issued against them : and lastly, for want of such an army, the rebels have taken to themselves the contribution, which might considerably have assisted to support an army and preserve the kingdom. If therefore the end of your consultation at Jamestown be to acquit your consciences in the eyes of God, the amendment of all errors, and the recovery of this afflicted people, as by the letter giving us notice of your meeting is professed ; we have endeavoured briefly to shew, that the spring of our past losses and approaching ruin arises from disobediences ; and it will not be hard to shew, that the spring of those disobediences arises from the forgeries invented, the calumnies spread against government, and the enticements of the people to rebellion, by very many of the clergy. That these are errors frequently practised, and fit for amendment, is no more to be doubted, than that without they be amended the affliction of the people will continue, and, as is to be feared, end in their utter destruction ; which if prevented by what your consultation will produce, the happy effect of your meeting will be acknowledged, without questioning the authority by which you meet. Proposals from us, other than what we have formerly, and now by this our letter, made, we hold not necessary. And so we bid your lordships heartily farewell.

“ Your lordships’ affectionate friend,

From Roscommon, Aug. 2, 1650.

“ ORMOND.”

Directed, “ *To our very good lords, the archbishops and bishops met at Jamestown.* ”

133 Upon the receipt of this letter, the several bishops who met at Jamestown sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly to the lord lieutenant with this letter of credit :

134 “ *May it please your excellency,*

“ We received your excellency’s letter of the second current, where, to our grief and admiration, we saw some expressions that seem meant for casting a blame upon us of the present

sad condition of the kingdom, which we hope to answer to the satisfaction of your excellency and the whole nation: in the mean time we premit this protestation, as we are Christian catholic prelates, that we have done our endeavours, with all earnestness and candour, for taking away from the hearts of the people all jealousy and diffidences that were conceived the occasion of so many disasters that befell the nation; and that, in all occasions, our actions and cooperations were ready to accompany all your excellency's designs for preservation of all his majesty's interests in this kingdom; whose state being in the present desperate condition, we thought it our duty to offer unto your excellency our sense of the only possibility we could devise for its preservation; and that by the intervention and expression of the lord bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly, dean of Tuam, who shall clearly deliver unto your excellency our thoughts and good intentions as to this effect; praying your excellency to give full credit to what they will declare in our names in this business, which will be still owned as our command laid upon them, and the declaration of the sincere hearts of

“ Your excellency's most humble servants,

“ *H. Armagh, Jo. archiep. Tuam, Nicholas Fernensis et procurator archiep. Dublin, Jo. Rapotensis, Eug. Killmore, Fa. Antonius Clunmacnocien. Arth. Duecen. et procurator Leighlin,* &c.

Jamestown, Aug. 10, 1650.

135 When the two persons intrusted had delivered their credential letter to the lord lieutenant, he wished them, in regard of the importance of the matter they were intrusted with, to deliver what they had in command in writing: whereupon they presented him with a paper containing these words:

“ *May it please your excellency,*

136 “ We being intrusted from the clergy met at Jamestown to deliver a message to your excellency, importing their advice, what the only means is, as they conceive, that may serve to free the nation from the sad condition whereunto it is reduced

at present, do, in obedience to your excellency's commands, signified for giving in the substance of that message in writing, humbly represent the same to be as followeth :

137 " That whereas they doubt not your excellency hath laboured by other hands to bring the best aids that possibly could be had from abroad for relief of this gasping nation, yet finding now, in their conscience, no other expedient remedy for the preservation thereof, and of his majesty's interest therein, more prevalent than your excellency's speedy repair to his majesty, for the preventing the ruin and dissolution of all, and leaving the king's authority in the hands of some person or persons faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affection and confidence of the people will follow, by which the rage and fury of the enemy will receive interruption ; they humbly offer this important matter, of safety or destruction of this nation and the king's interest, to your wisdom and consideration ; hoping that the kingdom, by your excellency's presence with his majesty, and intrusting safely the king's authority as above, may, with God's blessing, hold out, until relieved with supplies from his majesty : the prelates will in the mean time do what lies in their power to assist the person or persons so intrusted. The great trust his majesty doth repose in your excellency, the vast interest, in fortune, alliance, and kindred, you have in the nation, and your experience in the management of affairs of greatest consequence, will, we doubt not, added to other the reasons proposed by us, induce you to embrace their advice, as proceeding from our pious intention, that look only on the preservation of the catholic religion, the support of his majesty's authority, and the estates, liberties, and fortunes of his subjects of this kingdom, which we heartily offer, as

" Your excellency's most humble servants,

" FR. OLIVER DROMORE,

Aug. 13th, 1650.

" CHARLES KELLY."

138 Though the marquis did not expect that the meeting of the bishops and clergy in that manner at Jamestown would have produced any better effects than their former meetings in other places had done, yet he could not

imagine that their presumption would have been so great as it appeared by this message to be ; and when he communicated it to the commissioners of trust, they were no less scandalized at it, and believed that upon a serious conference with the bishops they should be able to reform their understandings and their wills ; and therefore desired the marquis, that instead of sending a particular answer to the matter of the message, that he would write to them to give him a meeting at Loghreagh on the 26th of the same month, to the end, that upon a free conference they might be induced to understand how pernicious a thing they had advised in order to their own security.

139 And the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly returned with this proposition ; and the marquis, making no doubt of their complying so far as to meet at the place he had appointed, went thither at the day assigned. They suffered the marquis to make a journey to Loghreagh, at the time appointed, but, instead of meeting him themselves, they sent their bishops of Cork and Clonfert, no otherwise instructed than to receive his answer to the proposition they had made for his leaving the kingdom : to the which, when he saw that he could not draw them to a conference, he returned, that they might well remember, that upon the disobediences he had formerly met with he had obtained leave from his majesty to have departed the kingdom ; and that if themselves, the bishops, the nobility, and gentry met together, had not, in April last, in writing and discourse, given him assurance, that they not only desired his stay, but would endeavour to procure such obedience to him as might enable him (with hope of success) to have gone on in the war, he would have made use of the liberty given unto him by his majesty to have freed himself from the vexation which he had since endured, and the dishonour he foresaw he should be subject unto, for want of that

power; without which (as he had then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the king or nation: that he had transmitted those assurances to his majesty, with his own resolution to attend the effects: that he plainly observed, that though the division was great in the nation under his government, yet it would be greater upon his removal, of which, in a free conference, he would have given them such pregnant evidence as he held not fit to declare to them by writing. And for these and other reasons he told them, that, unless he were forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing to remove out of the kingdom, and desired them to use all the means within their power to dispose the people to that dutifulness and obedience that became them.

140 This wrought nothing on the temper of those men, who were resolved not to be satisfied with any thing the marquis could say to them; insomuch that within few days after they had received his answer from Loghreagh, at a time when the rebels were strong in the field, and had then passed the Shannon if they had not been restrained by the few troops the marquis still kept on foot, they published an excommunication against all those, of what quality soever, who should feed, help, or adhere to the lord lieutenant: in which this circumstance is observable; that though they did not publish this excommunication until the 15th of September, it was enacted in their assembly at Jamestown on the 12th of August, which was within two days after they had sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly to persuade the marquis to leave the kingdom, and the day before they delivered their message, which was on the 13th: so that they thought any thing that the lord lieutenant should return to them would be impertinent to the matter in hand; nor, if they were not so delighted with their own proceedings that they have themselves carefully pub-

lished their acts to the world in print, would it be believed, that persons who in the least degree pretended a care of the people's welfare or security could, at such a time, (when a potent, malicious, and bloody enemy was in the field,) set all men loose from all government, civil and martial, and not direct them whom they should follow and obey; for if it be said, that they were advised to return to their association, and, until a general assembly of the nation could be conveniently called, unanimously to serve against the common enemy, since no persons were named or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledged that they were left, without any directions at all, to the rage and fury of those who intended nothing but their utter extirpation.

¹⁴¹ Together with their excommunication, they published in the head of the army a declaration, intituled, "A Declaration of the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates and dignitaries of the regular and secular clergy of the kingdom of Ireland, against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the misgovernment of the subject, and the ill conduct of his majesty's army, and the violation of the articles of peace;" at Jamestown, in the convent of the Friars Minors, the 12th of August, 1650.

¹⁴² If the archbishops, bishops, and the secular and regular clergy of Ireland, will take upon them to declare against the continuance of the king's authority where his majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves judges of his supreme minister, for the misgovernment of the subject, and the ill conduct of his majesty's army, they assume an authority to themselves that no other Christian clergy ever pretended, and sufficiently declare to the king how far they are from being subjects, or intending to pay him any obedience, longer than they are governed in such a manner and by such persons as they think fit to be pleased with.

143 If the marquis of Ormond had misgoverned the people, and conducted his majesty's army amiss, the clergy are not competent judges of one or the other; and for the violation of the articles of the peace, the commissioners, nominated and authorized to provide for the due execution of them, were the only persons who could determine and remedy such violation, and who well knew there was no cause for that complaint; but that, on the other hand, the clergy had (as hath been before mentioned) obstructed that concurrence and obedience in the people, without which those articles could not be observed, or the security of the people provided for.

144 The preface of that declaration (according to their usual method) justified and magnified their piety and virtue in the beginning and carrying on the war; extolled their duty and affection to the king, in submitting to him, and returning to their allegiance, when (they said) they could have had better or as good conditions from the rebels of England; intimated what a vast sum of money they had provided, near half a million of English pounds, besides several magazines of corn, with a fair train of artillery, great quantity of powder, match, ammunition, with other materials for the carrying on the war, and many other particulars of that nature, the monstrous untruth whereof doth sufficiently appear in what hath been said before; the marquis having been forced to borrow those little sums of money out of the pockets of his friends, and to spend all that he raised (upon the sale of good quantities of his own land) for the support of his wife and children, to enable the army to march, and which was never repaid to him; and the magazines of corn, ammunition, and other materials for war being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small forts of Maryborough and Athy, held by Owen O'Neal's party, till he had by his own power and interest procured some supplies; when

he did likewise contract with a merchant, and assign all the king's dues upon the customs and other duties for the payment for arms (and for which that merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great value: so far were these men from making that provision they brag of.

145 What conditions they might have had from the rebels of England may be concluded by the usage they have found, the Divine justice having made that bloody people more merciless towards those whose frowardness, obstinacy, and treachery against the king's authority contributed most to their service, than against any who worthily opposed them, and were most enemies to their proceedings.

146 They endeavoured by all imaginable reproaches and calumnies to lessen the people's reverence towards the lord lieutenant, laying such aspersions on him in the said declaration as might most alienate their affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without colour. They complained that he had given many commissions for colonels and other commands to protestants, and upon them consumed the substance of the kingdom, who most of them either betrayed or deserted the service; whereas they well knew that there was not one protestant officer to whom the lieutenant gave commission who betrayed any place committed to him, nor they otherwise treated, in order to their support, than all other officers of the same condition in the army; nor did they quit the service until after many of them had gallantly lost their lives; the clergy so far incensed the people against them, only for being protestants, that the marquis was compelled to give them passes to depart the kingdom or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the rebels were very glad to let them pass through their quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the king of the only strength they apprehended, officers of so known courage and conduct.

147 They accused him of improvidence in conducting the army after the defeat at Rathmines, of not relieving Drogheda, of permitting play, drinking, and license in the camp, and such bold aspersions as without examination might gain credit with the people and reflect upon his honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the action of Rathmines is before set down at large, and the taking of Drogheda by storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known, that in his person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself leave to enjoy those pleasures and liberties which might very well have consisted with the office and duty of the most severe general, and that in above three months time (which was from his first drawing the forces to a rendezvous till after the misfortune at Rathmines) he never slept out of his clothes: so that the malice and drift of those unreasonable and senseless calumnies are easy enough to be discerned, and can only make impression upon vulgar minds, not enough informed of the humour and spirit of the contrivers.

148 They magnified exceedingly the merit of the prelates, the declaration they had made in their congregation at Clonmaenoise, their frequent expressions of their sincerity, and most blamed the marquis for not making use of their power and diligence towards the advancing the king's interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his letter to the prelates at Jamestown the second of August, (which is before remembered;) and they said, words were heard to fall from him dangerous as to the persons of some of the prelates: to all which little need be said, since there is before so just and full a mention of their fair declarations and professions, and their actions which accompanied them: and for the danger the persons of some of the prelates were in they will be ashamed to urge, when it is known that their bishop of Killallow was brought to him in custody even after he

had signed this declaration and excommunication, and set at liberty by him, and whom the bishops themselves, in their letter to the earl of Westmeath, do acknowledge to be preserved by the marquis, and for which many will rather expect an apology, than for any jealousy he could entertain of persons who behaved themselves in that manner towards the king's lieutenant.

¹⁴⁹ They charged him with having represented to his majesty that some parts of the kingdom were disobedient . which absolutely denied any disobedience by them committed, and that thereby he had procured from his majesty a letter to withdraw his own person and the royal authority, if such disobedience was multiplied, and to leave the people without the benefit of the peace : this was the reward, they said, his excellency, out of his envy to a catholic loyal nation, prepared for their loyalty, sealed by the shedding of their blood and the loss of their substance.

¹⁵⁰ Whether the obstinate and rebellious carriage of Waterford and Limerick, which brought destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a representation to be made to the king, may be judged by all men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those particulars ; and if the prelates themselves had not acknowledged and seemed to lament those acts of disobedience, and had not most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, and promised all their endeavours to reduce the people to obedience, (which was only in their power to have done,) the marquis had been much to blame longer to have exposed himself and his honour to those reproaches, and to have suffered his person, with the impotent name of lieutenant of Ireland, to have remained within that kingdom, and every day to hear of the rendering and betraying places to the rebels, which he could no more remedy than he could infuse a spirit of obedience, unity, and understanding into that unhappy

infatuated nation: yet he was so far from wishing that his majesty should absolutely withdraw his royal authority from them, (how unworthy soever they made themselves of it,) that he always offered to leave the king's power in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, as he afterwards did; hoping, that since their great exception to him was for being a protestant, that they would with all alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous Roman catholic, and whose affection and integrity to his majesty was as unquestionable.

15¹ They reproached him, that whilst he was an enemy to the catholics, he had been very active in unnatural execution against them, and shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen, but that since the peace he had shewed little of action, and then kept himself in Connaught and Thomond, where no danger was, and the enemy appeared not; so that they would neither suffer him to have an army to oppose the rebels, nor be contented that he should retire into those places where the enemy could least infest him, and from whence, with those few troops which remained with him, he defended the Shannon, and kept the rebels from getting over the river whilst he stayed there; and for the former activity and success against them, which they were contented to impute to him, it was when he had the free election of officers, the absolute power over his garrisons, where he caused the soldiers to be continually exercised, their arms kept in order, and from whence he could have drawn the army together, and have marched with it to what place he would, and which advantages he was now without, and the rebels possessed of: and therefore it was no wonder that they now obtained their victories as easily as he had done formerly. But since they were so uningenuous and ingrateful (there being many amongst them whose lives he had saved, and with apparent danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural

execution against them, and in shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen, and for the improvement and propagation of that calumny it hath pleased some persons to cause that declaration to be translated into Latin, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the Roman catholics, and have named two priests, who, they say, were by his orders executed, and put to death in cold blood, and after his promise given to save their lives, whose names were Mr. Higgins and Mr. White ; it will not be impertinent to set down at large the case of those two persons, that from thence men who have no mind to be deceived and misled may judge of the candour and sincerity of those persons who would obtrude such calumnies to the world.

152 It must therefore in the first place be known, that when these two priests were put to death the war was conducted and carried on by the two houses of parliament ; that the government of Ireland was in the hands of the two lords justices Parsons and Borlace, who, upon the cruelty first practised by the Irish catholics in the beginning of the rebellion, had forbidden any quarter to be given, and taken all ways to incense the soldiers against the nation, and principally against all priests ; and the marquis of Ormond was then only lieutenant general of the army, and received all orders from the lords justices, who were jealous of him, as a person who dissembled not his devotion to the king, and who were directed to watch his actions as strictly as if he had been their enemy. At this time, the marquis having intelligence that a party of the rebels intended to be at such a time at the Naas, he drew some troops together with a hope of surprising them ; and marching all night, came early in the morning into the town, from whence the rebels, upon notice, were newly fled : in this town some of the soldiers found Mr. Higgins, who might, it is true, easily have fled, if he had apprehended any danger in the

stay. When he was brought before the marquis, he voluntarily acknowledged that he was a priest, and that his residence was in that town, from whence he refused to fly away with those who were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed he should not be without ample evidence of it, having by his sole charity and power preserved very many of the English protestants from the rage and fury of the Irish; and therefore he only besought the marquis by his authority to preserve him from the violence of the soldiers, and to put him securely into Dublin, to be tried for any crime; the which the marquis promised to do, and performed it, though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad amongst the soldiers that he was a priest, the officer into whose custody he was intrusted was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the marquis could do to relieve him, and to compose the mutiny. When he came to Dublin, he informed the lords justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit from entering into rebellion, and of the very many charitable offices he had performed; of which there wanted not evidence enough, there being many then in Dublin who owed their lives, and whatsoever of their fortune was left, purely to him: so that he doubted not he would be worthy of their protection. Within few days after, when the marquis did not suspect the poor man to be in danger, he heard that sir Charles Coote, who was provost marshal general, had taken him out of the prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity, when the marquis complained to the lords justices, he was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought in justice to have been. This was

the case of Mr. Higgins, and this the marquis's part in it; and the poor man was so far from complaining of his breach of promise at his death, (how confidently soever it be averred,) that he exceedingly acknowledged the favour he had received from his lordship, prayed for his prosperity, and lamented his want of power to do that which he saw his inclination prompted him unto. The proceeding against Mr. White was very different, and in this manner. The marquis being upon his march with the army, he quartered one night at Clonie, (a house of the earl of Westmeath, who was residing there with his wife and family;) when he was at supper, many of the officers being at the table, the lady of the house, upon some whisper she received from a servant, expressed some trouble in her countenance; the which the marquis (who sat next to her) perceiving, asked her what the matter was: she told him in his ear, that she was in great apprehension on the behalf of an honest man who was in her house, and much feared the soldiers, confessing that he was a priest. The marquis replied, that if he were in the house, and kept himself there, he was in no danger; for as the soldiers would attempt nothing whilst he the marquis stayed there, so he would leave a guard at his departure, that should secure it against stragglers, or any party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the morning, when he was ready to march, he received information that the rebels were possessed of a pass by which he was to go; whereupon he sent some troops to get a ford, three miles from the way the army was to march, and by that means to come upon the rear of the rebels by the time the army could come to the pass; which being done, (after a short encounter, in which many were killed,) the rebels were put to flight, and the pass gained. In this action Mr. White was taken on horseback with a case of pistols, who desired to be brought to the marquis; which being done, he told him

that he was the person for whom the countess of Westmeath had besought his favour the night before, and that his lordship had promised that he should be safe. The marquis told him, that if he were the same person, it was his own fault that he was not safe ; if he had stayed in the house he was in, this had not befallen him ; that it was now out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to observe those orders which the lords justices had given. Nevertheless he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to Dublin ; but the whole army (which was possessed by the parliament at Westminster and by the lords justices with a very bitter spirit against the Romish catholic clergy) mutinied upon it, and in the end compelled the marquis to leave him to that justice which they were authorized to execute ; and so the man was by them put to death. Who can now upon these two instances (and no other have been or can be given) reasonably or honestly say that the marquis hath had his hands defiled with the blood of priests ? And from the time that he had the chief power committed to him there was not only any priest (how maliciously, rebelliously, or treacherously soever they behaved themselves to the king's service, and to the person of the lord lieutenant) who suffered death, but all other acts of blood and rage which are not necessary, though hardly avoidable in the most just war, were declined and discountenanced by him.

153 I shall pass over the many tautologies and other impertinent calumnies in the said declaration, all which are sufficiently answered and cleared by what is already contained in this narrative, and shall only insert their conclusion in their own words, which were as followeth :

154 "For prevention of these evils, and that the kingdom may not be utterly lost to his majesty and his catholic subjects, this congregation of archbishops, and other prelates and dignitaries of both clergies of this kingdom, found ourselves bound in con-

science (after great deliberation) to declare against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the person of the lord marquis of Ormond, having by his misgovernment, ill conduct of his majesty's army, and the breach of public faith with the people, in the several particulars of the articles of peace, rendered himself incapable of continuing that great trust any longer, being questionable before his majesty for the foresaid injuries and ill government, (to which effect we will join with other members of this kingdom in drawing a charge against him:) and we hereby manifest to the people they are no longer obliged to obey the orders and commands of the said lord marquis of Ormond; but are, until a general assembly of the nation can be conveniently called together, unanimously to serve against the common enemy, for defence of the catholic religion, his majesty's interest, their liberties, lives, and fortunes, in pursuance of the oath of association; and to observe in the mean time the form of government the said congregation shall prescribe, until it be otherwise ordered by an assembly, or until, upon application to his majesty, he settle the same otherwise. And we do fulminate the annexed excommunication of one date with this declaration against all opposers of the same declaration."

155 It would probably appear an unnecessary, and might be thought an uncharitable sharpness to inveigh against, or to observe by a gloss or paraphrase, the logic and unavoidable consequence of the doctrine and particular conclusions in this monstrous declaration, since all sober professors of the Romish catholic religion must abhor it, as aiming at and indeed assuming a jurisdiction, which the united body of the prelates and clergy in no one catholic kingdom or country do pretend to have, and containing several clauses which by the established laws of every kingdom and country in Christendom are manifestly treasonable: and it is much more requisite to vindicate the marquis from the very natural imputation of levity, and most supine remissness in government, for not chastising and suppressing that seditious spirit in the clergy, which, from the very conclusion of the peace, perplexed and disturbed him in whatsoever he went

about, and infused jealousy and distrust into the hearts of the people ; and that he did not, upon this last transcendent treason of the bishops, seize upon their persons, and proceed against them in an exemplary way of justice : at least that he did not apprehend the ringleaders of them, after they had published their wicked and rebellious excommunication, and take some sudden vengeance upon them by any act of outrage, when there was no means of a formal proceeding by the common rules of justice, before the effects of their presumption should have been discerned, by the shrinking away and disbanding those few troops which then remained : and there is no doubt but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the temper of that people, much more liable to reproaches of that kind, than to the other, of rigour and severity against the Roman catholics, of which he was not in the least degree guilty. But the truth is, he will be easily absolved from that reprehension by all who are sufficiently informed of the incredible and unreasonable reverence which the common people of that nation pay to their clergy, of how inferior a rank soever, and that they have all their directions and determinations in that absurd veneration, that when a regiment hath been marching by order of their general, a seditious friar hath put himself into the head of them, taken a colours into his hand, and pronounced damnation to those who should presume to march ; whereupon, notwithstanding all the commands of their superior officers, who (though Roman catholics) were for the most part scandalized at the demeanour of their clergy, all the soldiers have thrown down their arms, and departed to their several habitations, as it fell out at Kilkenny in the expedition of [sic]

156 Nor was it possible for the marquis to procure justice to be inflicted in a civil or a martial way upon any ecclesiastical person, let his crime be what it would ; since even they whose zeal and affection to his majesty's service

was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at that intolerable carriage and proceedings of the bishops and clergy as they ought to be, and whose duty was not in the least degree shaken by their declaration and excommunication, were yet so tender of those immunities and privileges which were said to belong to the church, and so jealous of the behaviour of the people in any case which should be declared a violation of those privileges, that they would by no means have a hand in the inflicting capital punishment upon any churchman, without the approbation and cooperation of the bishops, who were not like to be so hardhearted as to consent to any judgment upon the accessories in those crimes in which themselves were principals; so that he must not only have determined by his own single will and judgment what was to be done in those cases, but he must have executed that determination with his own hand: and this consideration obliged the marquis to all those condescensions and sufferings, and upon all occasions to endeavour to dispose and persuade those prelates from any obstinate and ruinous resolutions, rather than to declare them to be enemies whom he could neither reform or punish.

157 The excommunication was no sooner published by the congregation, and consented to and approved by the other part of the bishops and clergy who were sitting at Galway, but they quickly discerned how imprudently as well as unwarrantably they had proceeded in order to their own ends; and that they had taken care only to dissolve and disband all their forces, without making any kind of provision for the opposition of the rebels, who had quickly notice of their ridiculous madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole power upon them: the people generally, who foresaw what must be the issue of that confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the rebels upon any conditions: the nobility and prime gentry, and the commissioners of trust, who

saw their whole power and jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed and exercised by the congregation, continued their application to the lord lieutenant, and desired him not to leave them exposed to the confusion which must attend his departure : the gravest and most pious of the clergy lamented the unskilful spirit of the rest ; and even some of the bishops, and others who were present at the congregation, and subscribed the excommunication, disclaimed their having consented to it, though they were obliged to sign it for conformity ; so that they found it necessary, within less than three days after the publishing it, to suspend that dreadful sentence : and yet, that it may appear how unwillingly they did those acts of gentleness and sobriety, it will not be amiss to set down the letter itself, which the titular bishop of Clonfert and Dr. Charles Kelly wrote to the officers of the army under the command of the lord marquis of Clanrickard, to that purpose ; which was in these words :

158 " Yesterday we received an express from the rest of our congregation at Galway, bearing their sense to suspend the effects of the excommunication proclaimed by their orders till the service at Athlone be performed, fearing on the one side the dispersion of the army, and on the other side having received most certain intelligence of the enemy's approach unto that place, with their full force and number of fighting men ; and thereupon would have us concur with them in suspending the said excommunication. As for our parts, we do judge that suspension to be unnecessary and full of inconveniences, which we apprehend may ensue, because the excommunication may be obeyed, and the service not neglected, if people were pleased to undertake the service in the clergy's names, without relation to the lord of Ormond, or any that may take his part ; yet fearing the censure of singularity in a matter of so high a strain against us, or to be deemed more forward in excommunicating than others, also fearing the weakness of some, (which we believe the congregation feared,) we are pleased to follow the major vote, and, against our own opinion, concur with them ; and do hereby suspend the

said censure, as above ; provided always, that after that service performed, or the service be thought unnecessary by the clergy, or when the said clergy shall renew it, it shall be presently incurred, as if the said suspension had never been interposed ; and so we remain,

“ Your assured loving friends in Christ Jesus,

“ WALTER BISHOP OF CLONFERT,
“ CHARLES KELLY.”

Corbie, Sept. 16th, 1650.

159 If these authentic evidences (of the truth whereof there is not room for the least doubt) were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that men endued with common understanding, and professing the doctrine of Christianity and the allegiance of subjects, could, upon deliberation, publish such decrees ? And who can wonder, that a people enslaved to and conducted by such spiritual leaders should become a prey to any enemy, though supplied with less power, vigilance, and dexterity, than those prosperous rebels always were, who have prevailed against them ; and who, by all kind of reproaches, rigour, and tyranny, have made that unhappy congregation pay dear interest for the contempt and indignity with which they prosecuted their sovereign and his authority.

160 Though most of the commissioners of trust, and all the principal nobility and most considerable gentry, remained in their own particular affections and resolutions firm and unshaken in their devotion to the king, and in their submission to the authority of his lieutenant, (notwithstanding the declaration and excommunication;) yet there fell out an unhappy accident, which in this conjuncture seemed to give some countenance, and did procure much submission, to that extravagant act of the clergy. The king was in Scotland, and was about this time, by that fierce and unskilful party which was then possessed of the whole power in the kingdom, absolutely

forced to consent, that is, to set his hand, to several papers which were prepared and brought to him, and without doing whereof he was plainly told he should have no power or authority over that people, not without implication enough, that his person would not long remain in liberty; and they who would have opposed those proceedings, both for the matter and manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his majesty to redeem himself from the mischiefs which threatened him, by complying with what he could not control, as the only means to recover that power which was usurped from him, and which indeed in a short time he did, to a great degree, reduce to the proper channel. Amongst those papers so obtained as aforesaid there was a declaration in his majesty's name, by which the peace concluded with the Irish catholics in the year 1648, by authority from the late king of ever glorious memory, and confirmed *by his majesty who now reigns*, was pronounced and adjudged to be void, and that his majesty was absolved from any observation of it; and this not grounded on those particular breaches, violations, and affronts, which had been offered to his majesty's authority, and contrary to the express articles, provisions, and promises of that treaty and peace, but upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with those persons who were branded with many ignominies and reproaches. And albeit this declaration in truth issued (in point of time) in Scotland after the excommunication by the congregation at Jamestown, yet the notice of it came so near the time of the publication of the other, that the clergy inserted it in their declaration, as if it had been one of the principal causes and foundation of their excommunication, and depriving the marquis of his authority, and all people who were concerned in their interest to have the peace observed, (which they looked upon as the only foundation of security for the nation and for their parti-

cular fortunes,) were willing to hearken to any counsels which were most like to provide that that peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

161 When the marquis first heard the mention of that declaration in Scotland, he did really believe it a forgery, contrived, either by the English rebels or the Irish congregation, to seduce the people from their affection and loyalty to the king; but when soon after he was assured in what a condition his majesty was in, and that such a declaration was in truth published in his name, he immediately issued out his orders for the meeting of an assembly at Loghreagh on the fifteenth of November; and in the mean time, on the twenty-third of October, for the better composing the minds of men, and preventing those distempers which might be infused, he writ to the commissioners of trust, and took notice of that declaration which was published in Scotland, and told them, "that however the affronts put upon his authority had been many, and were obstinately persisted in to that day, and that in such places whereupon evidently depended the preservation or loss of the whole kingdom, whereof he had several times given notice to them, and followed the ways advised by them for reclaiming the said places without success; yet, considering the declaration gained from his majesty was without hearing what could be said by the nation in their own defence, and such as involved it generally, without exception, in the guilt of rebellion, he thought fit to let them know, that since the said declaration was by undue means obtained from his majesty, he was resolved, by all the means it should please God to offer unto him, and through all the hazards, in the behalf of the nation, to insist upon and assert the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace by virtue of the foresaid authorities; and that the said peace was still valid, of force, and binding to his majesty and all his subjects: and herein he told them, he was

resolved, by the help of God, to persist, until both himself, and such as should in that behalf be intrusted and authorized by the nation, should have free and safe access to his majesty; and until, upon mature and unrestrained consideration of what might on all sides be said, his majesty should have declared his royal pleasure upon all the affronts which had been put upon his authority; provided, that upon this engagement of his, first, That all the acts, declarations, and excommunications, issued by the bishops against his authority and the people's giving obedience thereunto, should be by them revoked, and such assurance given as should be agreed by him and the commissioners of trust; that they, nor any of them, should attempt the like for the future, and that they should contain themselves within the bounds prescribed by the articles of the peace, whereunto they were parties. Secondly, That it should be immediately declared by the commissioners of trust, that the said declarations, excommunications, and other proceedings of the said bishops, was an unwarrantable usurpation upon his majesty's just authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and that in case the bishops should not give the assurance before expressed, or, having given it, should not observe the same, that they would endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment, pursuant unto, and as is prescribed by, the laws of the kingdom. Thirdly, That a like declaration should be made by all that derive authority from his majesty, civil or martial, and by the respective mayors, aldermen, common council, burgesses, and other magistrates in all the corporations of the kingdom. Fourthly, That the lord lieutenant should be permitted to make his free and safe residence in any place he should choose within the limits not possessed by the rebels. Fifthly, That he should be immediately suffered to garrison such places and in such manner, according to the articles of the peace, as he should find necessary for

the defence of the kingdom. In the last place, he wished that some course might be taken for his support in some proportion answerable to his place, yet with regard to the state of the kingdom; which last, he said, he should not propose, but that he was deprived of all his own fortune, whereupon he had solely subsisted ever since his coming into the kingdom.

162 The commissioners of trust received this letter with all demonstrations of respect and satisfaction, and the very next day returned him an answer, in which, after they had lamented the issuing out that declaration in Scotland, they said, “It greatly comforted them to understand that his excellency was resolved, through all hazards, in the behalf of the nation, to insist upon and to assert that peace, and persist in so doing, until he, or such as should be intrusted and authorized by the nation, should have free and safe access unto his majesty; and as to those provisoes which were expressed as necessary conditions for the continuing amongst them his majesty's authority, which, they said, they did (notwithstanding the said declaration) still embrace and reverence,” besides their general profession to act what lay within their power in the ways of his majesty's service, and to the satisfaction of his lieutenant, they returned these ensuing answers:

163 As to the first, concerning the revocation of those acts, declaration, and excommunication, issued by the bishops, and the assurance demanded, that nothing in that kind should be attempted for the future, they said, “That his excellency (to whom they had often expressed their resentment of such their proceedings) might be confident they would labour, as far as in them lay, to see his excellency satisfied in that particular; and to that end they would all, or some of them, with his allowance, and as he should think fit, repair to Galway, to treat with the prelates upon that subject.” To the second they an-

swered, "That albeit they knew that by those censures of the bishops his majesty's authority was invaded, and an unwarranted government set up, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that they were assured no subject could be justly warranted by that excommunication to deny obedience to his majesty's authority in his excellency; yet being of opinion that a public declaration of that kind in that conjuncture of affairs ought properly, and would with more countenance and authority, move from an assembly than from them, and that from such a public declaration then from themselves they should wholly obstruct the way to prevail with the prelates to withdraw those censures or act what was desired by the former proposition, and likewise endanger the union that was necessary at present, in opposing the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a more perfect union for the future, wherein the preservation of the nation would principally consist: they did therefore most humbly beseech his excellency to call upon an assembly of the nation, from whom such a declaration as might be effectual in that behalf, and might settle those distractions, could only proceed: yet if in the mean time, and before the meeting of that assembly, those censures then suspended should be revived, they would endeavour to suppress their influence upon the people by such a declaration as should become loyal subjects, and men intrusted to see all due obedience paid to his majesty's government over the kingdom." To the third they answered, "That they would at all times, and in such manner as his excellency should think fit to prescribe, invite all or any of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects to such a declaration, which yet, (until they should understand the clergy's sense upon the first proposition,) they said, they did humbly represent as fit for a time to be forborne." To the fourth they answered, "That whatsoever his excellency should find to be within

their power, and would direct to be done, concerning a place of residence for his person, they would readily obey his lordship's commands therein." To the fifth they answered, "That upon conference with his excellency of the places fit to be garrisoned, and the number of men fit to be put into them, they would, according to the articles of the peace, use their utmost endeavour to have such garrisons, so agreed upon, admitted." And to the last they said, "They had at all times been ready and willing that his excellency's charge should be supported out of the revenue of the kingdom; and that they were now very ready to concur in the assigning any of the dues already accrued, or such as should grow due hereafter, or to impose any new allotment upon the subject, towards his maintenance."

164 When the lord lieutenant perceived that the temper and the desire of the commissioners of trust was so different from that of the congregation, and that in truth they were afflicted and scandalized at the exorbitancies of the other, and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive counsels they were engaged in, he would not, upon any experience and judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compass, and which many would have concluded would be compassed, if attempted, and which, what other effect soever it had, would make it manifest, that there was not a concurrence in the nation in those acts which were like to destroy the nation. And therefore he willingly consented that the commissioners should go to Galway, where a committee of the congregation resided, whereof the bishop of Fernes was one; to whom they shewed the letter they received from the lord lieutenant, and desired them to consider the state of the kingdom; and to know, from them what they conceived remained, that might tend best to the preservation of the nation and themselves.

They told them, that a union could not be had for the preservation of the nation without keeping the king's authority amongst them, for that many of the most considerable would instantly make their conditions with the enemy if the king's authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that authority with them but by revoking the excommunication and the declaration; for the lord lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it, or the marquis of Clanrickard undergo it, but on those terms: and hereupon they used all those reasons and arguments, which cannot but occur to all men who are not blinded with passion and prejudice, to induce them to such a retraction as could only advance the happiness, or indeed the subsistence of the nation.

165 But these Romish catholic bishops were inexorable; instead of abating any of that fury they had formerly expressed, they added new contumelies and reproaches to all authority of the king's. They said, "they observed by the lord lieutenant's letter that he had informed his majesty of the disobediences and affronts which had been put upon his authority, and consequently, that he had suggested matter to his majesty for the making that declaration against the peace. That they had perused the declaration which had been published in Scotland, disavowing the peace; and that they were of opinion, for ought appeared to them, that the king had thereby withdrawn his commission and authority from the lord lieutenant. That in the said declaration, the Irish nation (as bloody rebels) were cast from the protection of the king's laws and royal favours, and therefore it might be presumed that he would not have his authority kept over such a nation to govern them. That they had been of opinion, and all their endeavours had been employed to keep the king's authority over them; but when his majesty throws away the nation as rebels from

his protection, withdrawing his own authority, they could not understand the mystery of preserving the same with them or over them, or how it could be done. That they believed the best remedy (the king's authority being taken away by that declaration) of meeting the inconvenience of the people's closing with the parliament is the returning to the confederacy, as, they said, was intended by the nation in case of a breach of the peace on his majesty's part. That, they said, would keep a union amongst them, if men would not be precipitately guilty of the breach of their oath of association; which oath, by two solemn orders of two several assemblies, was to continue binding, if any breach of the articles of peace should happen on his majesty's part: that the king's authority and the lord lieutenant's commission being recalled by that declaration, they were of opinion that the lord lieutenant had no authority to leave; and if they must expose lives and fortunes to the hazard of fighting, for making good that peace, seeing the danger and the prejudice was alike to defend that or get a better peace, why should they bound themselves within the limits of those articles so disavowed?" And so, with several tautologies, urging that declaration in Scotland as the ground and excuse for all their proceedings, when what they had done was before the issuing out of any such declaration, they concluded, that "they could not consent with safety of conscience to the revoking their declaration and excommunication demanded by the lord lieutenant, nor give any assurance to him, or the commissioners of trust, for not attempting the like in the future."

166 They would not make this determination, in a case of conscience of so vast an extent and importance, without setting down their reasons under their hands, which it would not be reasonable, for the doctrine's sake, to conceal from the world, that it may the better judge of

those particular spiritual guides ; for I do heartily wish that the conclusions which were made, and the ruin that flowed from thence, may not at any time reflect to the prejudice of more than the particular persons who made themselves guilty of that mass of mischief, and towards whom I shall not labour in any apology :

167 1. Their first reason was, because the king's authority was not in the lord lieutenant ; nor was there, they said, power in them to confer a new authority on him, which would be destructive to the nation if it continued in him, and preservative if in another ; and that, they said, was their sense, when they declared against the king's authority in his person. [Answer.] So that though they had the presumption to take the king's authority out of his lieutenant's hands, by their declaration and excommunication, and to inhibit all men to submit to it, they had now the modesty to confess that they had not power to confer any new authority on him ; their faculty of destroying was so much better than that of preserving.

168 2. Their second reason was, that they feared they should lose the few churches remaining under his government, as they had lost under him all the churches of the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford, and the rest ; in which, they said, they agreed with the Maccabees, *Maximus et primus pro sanctitate timor erat templi.* [Answer.] By whose ill government those cities were lost appears by what hath been said before, and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the marquis to depart the kingdom is too well known to the world.

169 3. The third reason they thought fit to give was, because the lord lieutenant had declared at Cork that he would maintain, during his life, the protestant religion, according to the example of the best reformed churches, which might be the same in substance with the covenant for ought they knew, they said they could not expect from him the defence of the catholic religion. [Answer.] Which

was a strange objection against a protestant lieutenant of a protestant king, under whose government they pretended to be desirous to live: and whatever had been declared by the lieutenant at Cork in that particular was before the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and published and printed, and well known to those bishops, who, after the same, (and notwithstanding that declaration,) with all demonstrations of cheerfulness, gave their consents to that peace which they now think fit to break because of that declaration.

170 4. The fourth reason was cast in the same mould, the scandal over the world, to make choice of one of a different religion, especially in Rome, where his holiness expected that a catholic governor should be placed over them; and they said they did fear the scourges of war and plague, that had fallen so heavy upon them, were some evidences of God's anger for putting God's cause and the church's under such a hand; whereas that trust might have been managed in a catholic's hand under the king's authority. [Answer.] Which reason indeed had most ingenuity in it: and whenever they disguised their malice and their prejudice in those personal reproaches and calumnies, which they knew to be most untrue, if they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a protestant, they had more complied with the dictates and integrity of their hearts: and yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent suggestion, to make the humour of the court of Rome their rule of obedience to their sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a person of what a religion they thought fit to be his vicegerent; as if they, not he, were to be consulted in it; which would administer much cause of jealousy to a protestant king and to his protestant subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole catholic nobility and gentry of the nation were enemies to those resolutions, as that that unhappy part of the catholic bishops and

clergy did broach and propagate that new and destructive doctrine, which alone hath reduced the nation to the calamities it now undergoes.

¹⁷¹ 5. The fifth reason was, that they should find no succour or countenance, but reproach and disgrace, from any catholic prince of the church or laity whilst the marquis governed. [*Answer.*] When, in truth, since that time, and that their proceedings have been taken notice of, all catholic princes have looked upon them as incapable of any succour or countenance, and have accordingly left them to the rage and rapine of their bloody and merciless persecutors.

¹⁷² Their other reasons were their vulgar and so oft before recited exceptions to his person, in respect of the ill success of his conduct, and the prejudice the people had to him in regard of the same; and they said the two considerable corporations remaining (which were Limerick and Galway) were at so great a distance with the lord lieutenant, that they were thought to be resolved not to submit to him, though they resolved to appear (as in their intentions and actions they conceived they were) faithful to the crown, and obedient to the king's authority if placed in another person.

¹⁷³ To which suggestions nothing need to be added to what hath been said in this discourse of the demeanour of those particular places; nor can the observation be avoided, that it was the natural practice of this congregation to use all their industry and artifice to infuse jealousy and sedition into the people, and distrust and obstinacy into the corporations, and then to urge that jealousy and prejudice and indisposition of the people and corporations to countenance any thing they thought fit to do or to oppose. They concluded, that the event of war being uncertain, if the nation should be reduced to the condition of agreeing with the enemy, the lord lieutenant would not be a fit man to agree for the exer-

cise of their religion, for their churches, altars, or any thing concerning the same: and therefore they said, that the best way that occurred to them, in this pressing exigence, for the union of the nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the enemy, was, that the marquis of Clanrickard (in whom, according to the sense of the congregation at Jamestown, they desired the king's authority should be left) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and the king's authority from the lord lieutenant, until an assembly; and to that end, that a free and lawful assembly might be made to sit to judge upon the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, touching the king's authority to be kept over them, the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient: and to that they would willingly submit; for, they said, they never intended to hinder assemblies, or to give law to the people; all that they endeavoured was to defend the altars and souls intrusted to them; and as they were of opinion that the soldier would follow the marquis of Clanrickard, and the people obey him, so they would contribute their best endeavours to that effect. They further gave assurance, that if a free and lawful assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their own safety and preservation, to make agreement with the enemy, as they intended never, by the grace of God, to grant away from them by an affirmative consent churches and altars, (if forced from them they were blameless,) so would they not hinder the people from compounding with the enemy for the safety of their lives and estates, when no way of defence was appearing, though upon such an agreement they saw that they alone should probably be the losers of lives, estates, churches, altars, immunities, and

liberties: but in such contracts with the enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert,) they should pray and conjure the catholics of Ireland, that that of the Maccabees might be recorded of them to future ages: *Erat pro uxoribus, et filiis, pro fratribus et cognatis minor solicitude, maximus vero, et primus, pro sanctitate timor erat templi.*

174 And this was the answer delivered to the commissioners of trust upon the fifth day of November in the year 1650, at Galway, by the titular bishops of Killalah, Fernes, Kilmedough, Clonfert, Kilfinorah, and Dromore, after several and long conferences with the said commissioners of trust, who were intrusted by the nation upon the proposals made by the lord lieutenant, and before recited; the commissioners at that conference being likewise six, sir Lucas Dillon, sir Richard Barnwall, sir Richard Everard, Mr. Richard Beling, Mr. Jeffery Brown, and Dr. Fennell; all eminent persons in their fortunes and interests, and in the trust and confidence of the confederate catholics. I take much, very much more pleasure in remembering, (which makes me say it upon all opportunities, to prevent the usual prejudice that is too frequently let loose upon whole nations, communities, and professions, for the guilt and errors of particular principal persons, officers, and professors,) that not only the whole nobility and gentry of fortune and interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious men of the secular and regular clergy, and even some of their bishops, did abhor and abominate the proceedings of this congregation, and the doctrine they infused into the people; and that the same was disavowed by some of those bishops who are last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their procurators, without their assent or knowledge: I say, I take more pleasure in remembering this, than in inserting such incredible actions, arguments, and discourses (or

making sharp reflections upon the same) of that unhappy, unprelatical, uncatholic congregation ; which can never be looked upon by wise men of any profession as consisting of grave, temperate, or loyal persons, but as factious, rash, violent, and disloyal men, assembled without authority, transported with spleen, arrogance, and ambitions ; taking advantage of the ill successes whereof themselves were guilty, as the marquis himself said in his letter of the second of December, which he sent to the assembly at Loghreagh when he left the kingdom ; of which letter, if an exact copy could have been gotten, this discourse would have been needless, there being so ample a vindication of whatsoever was or could be said against him in the other. Nor can any man avoid the observing, by the express words of the conclusion, upon their reasons in their conference with the commissioners, that though they seemed to desire that the marquis of Clanrickard (whose zeal to the catholic religion and interest in the nation was so notorious and confessed, that they durst not publicly repine at his known affection and integrity to the king) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and that the king's authority from the lord lieutenant might be left in him ; yet they declared they meant it should only be until an assembly, (which they well knew, by the express terms of the articles of the peace, could be only lawfully convened by the lord lieutenant;) and then that the assembly should judge upon the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, touching the king's authority to be kept over them, the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient : so that they intended no other honour to the marquis of Clanrickard, than that by his countenance and reputation they might persuade the lord lieutenant to leave the king's authority

behind him, and then that he should call an assembly, (which they would otherwise do themselves, and which they were sure should be constituted, for the most part, of such men as would follow their dictates,) by which himself should be divested of that power, and the king deposed from any further dominion over them, when they could persuade any foreign prince to take them into his protection ; which practice they quickly set on foot afterwards : and for the further manifestation of their affection and loyalty to the king, which they cannot endure should yet be called in question, it is observable, that these men, who had so often contradicted and controlled the express acts of every assembly that had been convened since the beginning of the troubles, and now commanded the people, under pain of damnation, not to yield any obedience to the king's authority in his lieutenant, and declared, that they could not, with the safety of their conscience, consent to those propositions which he had lately made for the uniting the nation, in defence of the peace, so advantageous to their liberty and religion, and which the commissioners, trusted by and for the nation, thought so reasonable ;—these men, I say, made no scruple of professing and declaring, that if an assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their safety and preservation, to make an agreement with the enemy, (the rebels of England, who had murdered their late sovereign with those inhuman circumstances, and who professed the extirpation of their religion and nation, and had massacred and reproachfully executed so many of their bishops and clergy in cold blood,) they would not hinder the people from compounding with them for the safety of their lives and estates : which being enough considered, we cannot enough wonder at the strange stupid resignation of their understandings who believed, or rather at their wonderful contempt of those under-

standings which would be persuaded to believe, that this congregation had loyal purposes towards the king, or that they never intended to hinder assemblies, or to give law to the people, when they cancelled all the fundamental laws, broke through all the acts of their own assemblies, and forbade the people to pay any obedience to the king's lieutenant, who had only lawful power to govern over them. The more extravagant and unreasonable these proceedings were of the congregation and clergy, the more confident many honest and wise men were, that an assembly of the nation would regulate and control that illimitable power, and utterly disavow all that they had done; and therefore they, who were exceedingly offended and enraged against the congregation, were as solicitous and importunate with the lord lieutenant to call an assembly; and though he had had too much experience of the nature and temper of that people, and of the transcendent power the clergy would still have over any assembly, (or at least over the people when the assembly had done what it could,) to hope for any good effects from it; and though he saw that he should thereby the more expose his own honour and (which he considered much more) the dignity of his master to new insolences; yet, since he resolved to leave the kingdom himself, and was only unresolved whether he would leave the king's authority behind him liable to the same indignities and affronts in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard which it had been subjected to in his own, and could have no kind of assurance that it should not, but by the professions and protestations of an assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his letters to that purpose for their meeting upon the 15th day of November at Loghreagh; where they met accordingly; and the bishops, for removing, as they said, of any jealousies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and protested, "that by their excom-

munication and declaration at Jamestown in August last, they had no other aim than the preservation of the catholic religion and people; and that they did not purpose to make any usurpation on his majesty's authority or on the liberty of the people; confessing that it did not belong to their jurisdiction so to do:" with which protestation (so contrary to what they had done, and which in truth they had so often made, even at the time they did all things contrary to it) the assembly was satisfied; and did not so much as make another protestation, that the bishops had done that which they ought not to do, or exact a promise from them that they would not do the like in time to come. So that the lord lieutenant was resolved to look no more for satisfaction from them, nor to expose the king's authority further by leaving any deputy behind him, but prepared the best he could to depart the kingdom, a small frigate then attending for that service.

175 When the assembly understood this his resolution, and saw plainly that he was even ready to depart, his goods and many of his servants being on board, they sent four of the members of their house to him with an instrument in writing, in which they repeated the declaration and protestation made by the bishops mentioned before, upon consideration of which, and their professions to that purpose in the assembly, and of his excellency's letter dated the 16th of November last, recommending unto them, as the chief end for which the assembly was called, the removing of all divisions as the best way to their preservation, they said, that they, the lords spiritual and temporal, and gentry, met in that assembly, conceived that there was not a better foundation or ground for their union than the holding to and obeying his majesty's authority, to which they owed, and ought to pay all dutiful obedience: and they did thereby declare and protest, that their allegiance

to his majesty's authority was such, and so inherent to them, that they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor was there any power or authority in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry or people, clergy or laity of the kingdom, that could alter, change, or take away his majesty's authority; they holding that to be the chief flower of the crown, and the support of the people's liberties, which they did thereby protest, declare, and avow, and that they did esteem the same, and the obedience thereunto, essentially, inviolably, and justly due from them, and the chiefest mean under God to uphold their union and preservation: and they said, they did unanimously beseech his excellency, in his great affection to the advancement of his majesty's service, and his hearty desires of the nation's preservation, to which they said he had relations of highest concernments in blood, alliance, and interest, to leave that authority with them, in some person faithful to his majesty and acceptable to the nation; to which person, when he should be made known unto them, they said they would not only afford all due obedience, but would also offer and propose the best ways and means that God would please to direct them to, for preservation of his majesty's rights and the people's interests and liberty, and for begetting ready obedience in all places and persons to his majesty's authority.

176 This address, though it carried with it a particular respect from the assembly to the lord lieutenant, and an acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty affections he had always had to advance his majesty's interest and service in that kingdom, contrary to the scandalous declaration of the congregation, gave not the marquis the least confidence that his majesty's authority could find more respect in the person of another than it had met with in him; therefore he writ to them by the same messengers, that he had sent authority to the lord marquis of Clanrickard to govern that his majesty's kingdom

and people, provided that their declaration might be so far explained as to give the marquis of Clanrickard full satisfaction, that the expressions they made touching the obedience they owe and resolve to pay to his majesty's authority was meant the authority placed in his lordship, or any other governor deriving or holding his authority from his majesty; and that they esteem it not in the power of any person, congregation, or assembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the people free from obeying his lordship, or any other such governor, during the continuance of the said authority in him; without which, he said, he could not, in duty to his majesty, leave his authority, subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain fancy of any man or men, and that without any probability of saving the nation, which could be no otherwise effected than by the absolute cheerful obedience of the people [unto the authority] placed over them. And so, having directed the marquis of Clanrickard (who submitted to that charge out of pure obedience, and only that he might not decline a service which they would say would have preserved the nation) not to assume the charge except the assembly gave him full satisfaction in the particulars required by him, the lord lieutenant, about the middle of December, which was the end of the year 1650, by the new account, embarked himself in a small vessel for France, after he had refused to receive a pass from Ireton, who offered it; choosing rather to trust the seas and the wind, in that rough and boisterous season of the year, than to receive an obligation from the rebels: and so, after having been tossed at sea for the space of weeks, and his other ship, in which were his servants and goods, and many other passengers, were perishing in the storm, himself landed in France.

¹⁷⁷ If the end of this discourse were only to vindicate the marquis of Ormond from those loose reproaches and groundless calumnies with which those bold writers have

endeavoured to asperse him, it might very well be concluded here, after it hath so clearly instanced the insupportable wants, weakness, and destructions he was to struggle with, even from the first minute of the conclusion of the peace, and when he seemed to be attended with most success, and so fully evidenced the vast supplies, wealth, power, and (which made the rest superior to the greatest and most difficult designs) the union of the most prosperous rebels; and on the other side, the weakness, poverty, and unskilfulness of the Irish; their want of money, of arms, of victual, of officers, and of discipline, and (which would have made any plenty unsuccessful) the abundant want of union, discretion, and obedience to the supreme commander; the rebellion of the incorporate towns against all the commands and orders of the king's lieutenant; and lastly, the extravagant and illimitated power of the most illiterate and worst affected part of the clergy over the consciences and understandings of the people;—I say, all these particulars being so undeniably evinced, the world (at least the soberer part of it) will be very easily satisfied, that the marquis of Ormond discharged the office of a wise, vigilant, and excellent commander with the greatest constancy, courage, and integrity imaginable, and that none of the calumnies under which that unhappy nation lies at present oppressed and broken can be put upon his account. But since there was and is still so much profession of duty and obedience to the king's authority, and all the miscarriages and misfortunes imputed to the prejudice that attended the person of the marquis of Ormond, and that prejudice to his person to proceed from his religion, from his being no Roman catholic; it will not be an impertinent and unprofitable expense of time, to take a view of the ways which were taken to preserve the nation, to advance the king's service, and the obedience that was paid to his majesty's authority,

after it was placed in the marquis of Clanrickard; whose zeal and devotion to the Roman catholic religion hath been always as eminent and unquestioned as his loyalty and integrity to the king, and whose being a catholic hath been able to shelter him from the virulence of those tongues which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the other great and excellent person; the very same tongues and pens having with equal license and malice, and with many of the same calumnies, aspersed the one and the other; so that, in truth, religion will be found to have had the least influence upon the hearts of those who have so often mentioned it as their only motive to those unlawful actions which are not consistent with any religion.

178 The lord lieutenant was no sooner under sail than the assembly applied themselves to the marquis of Clanrickard, who was then at his house at Loghreagh, and besought him to assume the government, as lord deputy of Ireland, according to the power left with him by the lord lieutenant. But the marquis absolutely refused to do it, except they satisfied the proviso that was in the lord lieutenant's letter to them, and that he saw such a union amongst them as might free the king's authority from the affronts it had been exposed to. Hereupon the assembly unanimously professed all obedience to his majesty's authority as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which, they said, the nation would be exposed to utter ruin; and the bishop of Fernes more particularly importuned him, in the name of the clergy, not to decline the charge, which could only preserve the king's power in that kingdom, and the nation from destruction, and promised so entire a submission and cooperation from the whole clergy that his authority should not be disputed.

179 There were then in the possession of the Roman catholics the entire province of Connaught, in which they had

the strong castle of Athlone, the strong and important town and harbour of Galway, and many other lesser forts and places of strength ; a good part of the province of Munster, and in it the city of Limerick, which, by the strong situation of it, and the advantages it might have from the sea, could alone (with the help and assistance of Galway) have maintained a war against all the rebels' forces in Ireland : they had many parties of horse and foot in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster ; which being drawn together would constitute a better army than the rebels were in truth masters of : so that the marquis had argument enough of hope, if he could be confident of a union of the nation ; and he might reasonably promise himself a union of the nation, if he could be confident of the affection and integrity of the clergy ; and they did now promise with that solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, he saw the fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their parts to create a belief in him : he was therefore content to take the charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of a way to keep all the forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the two towns of Limerick and Galway with strong garrisons ; which was the first work concluded on all hands necessary to be performed.

180 Very few days had passed after the lord deputy had, upon such their importunity and professions, taken the government upon him, when it was proposed in the assembly (before their condition was impaired by any further progress or new success of the rebels) that they might send to the rebels, to treat with them, upon the surrendering all that was left into their hands ; and when the same was opposed with indignation by the major part of the assembly, the bishop of Fernes himself, who had so newly importuned the lord deputy to assume the charge, and made such ample promises in the name

of the clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the rebels ; but instead of it very earnestly pressed, that they might, in order to their better defence, return to their ancient confederacy, and so proceed in their preparations without any respect to the king's authority : and this motion found such a concurrence in the assembly from most of the bishops and clergy, and many others, that the officers of the army, and the principal of the nobility and gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordinary passion in their contradiction : they told them, they now manifested that it was not their prejudice to the marquis of Ormond, or their zeal to religion, that had transported them, but their dislike of the king's authority, and their resolution to withdraw themselves from it ; that for themselves they would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard, as long as they should be able ; and when they should be reduced to that extremity that the treating with the rebels could be no longer deferred, they would in that treaty make no provision for them, but be contented that they should be excluded from any benefit thereof who were so forward to exclude the king's authority. Upon these bold and necessary menaces, (to which they had not been accustomed,) the clergy and their party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all concurrence, but from this very time all the factions and jealousies which had been before amongst them were improved.

¹⁸¹ The Irish, in all the quarters of which the rebels were possessed, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them entered into their service, and marched with them in their armies ; and the lord deputy grew as much into their disfavour as the lord lieutenant had been, and his being a friend to the marquis of Ormond destroyed all that confidence which his being a Roman catholic had merited from them.

182 Notwithstanding all these discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the deputy issued out his orders to all the forces, which, for conveniency of quarter, and the more to infest the rebels, were scattered over the provinces, that they should meet at a general rendezvous at a time and place appointed; resolving with as much expedition as he could to engage the enemy, which in truth (with putting in so many soldiers into those towns and places of strength which had been delivered to them, and with sickness) were much weakened; and he did once draw a greater body of horse and foot together at a rendezvous at than all the forces the rebels could bring would consist of: and hearing that Ireton (who then commanded in chief in that kingdom for the rebels) marched towards Athlone, he made all possible haste to encounter him; but after he had gone two days' march toward that place, he received certain intelligence that the rebels (being furnished with all necessary guides, and having much better information of all he did from the Irish than the deputy could procure) were marched over the mountains towards Galway. Upon which advertisement he made what haste he could back the same way he came, and sent orders to the earl of Castlehaven, the general of the horse, to meet him with the forces under his command at a village called , where the deputy expected him, the rebels being then within less than a mile with their main body, and only a narrow pass between them, which the deputy made little doubt of defending until all his forces should come up, and then resolved to fight them; which was the only thing he desired, and believed himself to be in a very good posture to do. When the earl of Castlehaven received his orders to march, he took special care to leave the single pass over which the rebels might possibly get over the river of Shannon well guarded, that so they might be entirely engaged at the place where the deputy

was without any danger in their rear ; he did not think the guarding that pass to be of any difficulty, where there was an old strong castle, that stood even into the river and in the mouth of the pass, and against which the rebels could not plant any ordnance to annoy it ; and in this castle he left threescore musketeers, and withal two troops of horse, which was strength enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished army from landing on that side.

183 The earl had not marched above three hours, when upon the rising of a hill he heard the report of a few muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the two troops of horse, which he had left to guard the pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable confusion, and without being pursued by any man : the rebels having, it seems, excellent and speedy intelligence of the earl's march, sent over two or three boats with musketeers from the other side of the river, who, without the least opposition, or having one man hurt, landed at the castle, which horse and foot abandoned and left to their possession ; so that it was then in their power to draw over as many as they would of their army. As soon as this news was heard amongst those who marched with the earl, without any respect to his person, command, or entreaties, and without the sight of an enemy, or indeed the possibility of being pursued, (for there were yet only a few foot landed on that side the river, and the bringing over their horse would take up much time,) they fled, dispersed and disbanded, insomuch that of four thousand, which in the morning the body consisted of, the earl brought not with him to the place where the lord deputy was above forty horse ; so that the deputy easily saw that he was in no case to engage with the rebels ; that he should be quickly attacked on the rear by that part of the army which had already and speedily would pass the river ; and that the same fright possessed his men who had

hitherto kept the bridge, and who now began to yield ground, and that in the truth very many of his soldiers had that night run away; and thereupon he drew off, and marched away; both horse and foot, when they were gotten out of danger of the enemy's pursuit, dispersing themselves: and from this time the deputy could never draw any considerable and firm body into the field, or make any opposition to the progress the rebels made; the Irish in all places submitting to and compounding with them, and murmuring as much against the lord deputy as they had before against the lord lieutenant.

184 Before the lord lieutenant left the kingdom, he had sent the lord viscount Taaffe (who had been an eyewitness of all his proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the minds of the clergy to the king's service) to give the king an account of the affairs of Ireland, and how impossible it would be to preserve his authority in that kingdom without some more than ordinary supplies from abroad. His lordship landed in Flanders, the king being then in Scotland, and quickly understood how unlike his journey into that kingdom was to advance the business upon which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the presence of the king, from whom most were removed who had attended him thither; and thereupon he stayed in Flanders, and found an opportunity to represent the condition of the catholics of Ireland in such a manner to the duke of Lorrain, (who, being nearly allied to the king, had always professed a singular affection to his majesty and his interest,) that in the end he prevailed with him to intend them some relief: and as soon as it was known that the lord lieutenant was landed in France, the duke sent a person of principal trust about him (the abbot of St. Katherine's) into Ireland, with a credential, as his ambassador to the clergy and catholic nobility and gentry of that kingdom, to treat with them, in order to their

receiving aid and supplies from the duke, and to the end that his highness might in truth understand in what capacity they were of being relieved, and how much they could contribute themselves thereunto ; it being not then known that the marquis of Ormond had left the king's authority behind him, but rather conceived that, upon those many provocations and affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn with his person that countenance and authority they had so much under-valued and so little deserved.

185 When the abbot landed in Ireland, (which was about the end of February, and within little more than two months after the lord lieutenant departed from thence,) he heard that the marquis of Clanrickard was the king's deputy, and thereupon he gave him presently notice of his arrival, addressed himself to him, shewed his commission and credentials, and assured him that the duke his master had so entire affections to the king of England, (the preservation of whose interest in that kingdom was the chief motive to him to offer his assistance,) that if he had known any person had been intrusted there with his majesty's authority he would have addressed him to him, and to no other ; and that he, finding his lordship invested with that power, did, what he knew his master expected at his hands, apply himself to him, with and by whose directions he would alone steer himself through that negotiation. He told him the duke had already disbursed six thousand pistoles for the supplying them with those things he heard they stood most in need of, which were brought over by a religious person who came with him, and that he was ready to be informed of what they would desire from his highness that might enable them to resist their enemies, and that he would consent to any thing that was reasonable for him to undertake.

186 Hereupon the deputy appointed a committee of the commissioners of trust, together with some of the pre-

lates, to confer with the ambassador, to receive any overtures from him, and to present them with their advice thereupon to him. They met accordingly, and received propositions from the ambassador; such as were so disagreeable to the professions he had made of respect to the king, and indeed so inconsistent with the king's honour and interest, that there was great reason to suspect that they proceeded from the encouragement and contrivance of the Irish, than from his own temper and disposition: and this was the more believed, when, instead of returning the propositions to the lord deputy, they kept the same in their own hands, put out some of those who were appointed by him to be of the committee, and chose others in their places, and proceeded in the treaty without giving the deputy any account of what was demanded by the ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer to him: of all which the deputy took notice, and thereupon forbade them to proceed any further in that way, and restrained them to certain articles, which he sent to them; which contained what he thought fit to offer to the ambassador, and gave them power only to treat upon the same. Notwithstanding this positive direction, they proceeded in their treaty with the ambassador, and sent an advice to the deputy to consent to the articles proposed by him, since, they said, he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same than that the treaty should be broken off.

187 The deputy as positively declared, that what was demanded was so derogatory to the honour of the king his master, and destructive to his interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the town: and when the ambassador sent to him, to desire to see him, and to take his leave of him, he absolutely refused it, and sent him word, that he would neither pay his civility to nor receive it from a person who had so

much swerved from the professions made by himself, and who had presumed to make propositions so dishonourable to the king his master, and, he believed, so contrary to the good pleasure of the duke of Lorrain ; and that he would send away an express to the duke, to inform him of his miscarriage, and he presumed he would do justice to the king upon him.

188 When the prelates saw that no obstinacy in the ambassador or importunity from them could prevail with the lord deputy, to shew what influence they had upon that treaty, they persuaded the ambassador to consent to the same propositions he had formerly (no doubt by the same advice) rejected, and thereupon to make the sum, formerly disbursed by the duke at his coming out of Flanders, full twenty thousand pounds ; and the deputy sent a couple of gentlemen into Flanders, to treat further with the duke of Lorrain, according to such commission and instructions as he gave them, who arrived in those parts about the month of July following. The bishop of Fernes about the same time left Ireland, and came likewise to Bruxelles ; and having (without the privity of the lord deputy) obtained some secret trust and delegation from the prelates of Ireland, and credit from them to the duke of Lorrain, he quickly interested himself in that treaty, and took upon him the greatest part in it, and that what he said was the sense of the nation : he reproached the persons employed and trusted by the lord deputy with all the proceedings which had been in Ireland by the consent of the confederate catholics, inveighed against their opposing the nuncio, and, appealing against the excommunication issued by him, he told them, (and all this by a letter under his hand,) that he was clearly of opinion that the excommunication was valid, and that the greatest statesmen, soldiers, citizens, and people first disobeying, and now obstinate, are and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forsaken of God,

and unworthy of victory and any his holy blessings ; and thereupon he said he did, with all sincerity and charity, offer his own humble opinion what was to be done by them, which was, to the end the agreement they were making with his highness of Lorrain might become profitable to the nation and acceptable in the eyes of God, that they would immediately, with humbled hearts, make a submission to his holiness in the name of the nation, and beg the apostolical benediction, that the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, success, and the blessing of God, might return again to them. He told them the necessity of doing this was the greater, that the person from whom they came with authority (the marquis Clanrickard, lord deputy) was for several causes excommunicated *a jure et homine*, and that he was at Rome reputed a great contemner of the authority and dignity of churchmen, and a persecutor of the lord nuncio, and some bishops and other churchmen ; and after many rude and bitter reproaches against the deputy he used these words : “ Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the authority of such a man ? ” and shortly after said, that if the duke of Lorrain were rightly informed of the business, he would never enter upon a bargain to preserve, or rather restore, holy religion in a kingdom with agents bringing their authority from a withered cursed hand ; and then concludes with these words : “ As for my part, upon your denial to hear my humble prayers, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw myself, as a man despairing of any fruit to come from an unsound trunk, where there is no sap of grace, and am resolved no more to communicate with you in that affair but rather to let the prince know he is building his resolution of doing good upon an unallowed foundation, and that God therefore (unless himself would undertake to obtain an absolution for the nation) will not give him the grace to lay down the *lapis angularis*

of his own house again in that kingdom." This letter bare date at Bruxelles on the 20th of July 1651, the persons to whom it was directed being then in the same town. What the issue of that treaty was, and what regard there was had of the king's honour and interest, I shall not mention in this place, the articles being made public to the world, but shall only insert the letter which the lord deputy writ to the duke of Lorrain in answer to one he had received from his highness, and after he knew what transaction had been made with him. The letter was dated the 20th of October, 1651, and in these words :

189 *"May it please your highness,*

" I had the honour, the 12th of this present, to receive a letter from your highness dated the 10th of September, wherein you are pleased to express your zeal for the advancement of catholic religion in this kingdom, your great affections to the king my master, and your good opinion of this nation, and compassion of their sufferings, and your great readiness to afford them aid and assistance, even equal with your own nearest concernments ; and that your highness received such satisfaction from the queen and duke of York as did much strengthen those resolutions, so as they might have sooner appeared, but for the stay made here of monsieur St. Katherine, and his large northern voyage upon his return, and referred what concerned the agreement to the relation of those commissioners I had employed to your highness to treat upon that subject of assistance and relief for this kingdom. I do, with much alacrity, congratulate and applaud your highness' pious intentions for the preservation of the catholic religion ; your great and princely care to recover his majesty's rights and interests from his rebel subjects of England ; and the high obligation you put upon this nation by your tender regard of them, and desire to redeem them from the great miseries and afflictions they have endured, and the eminent dangers they are in ; and it shall be a principal part of my ambition to be a useful instrument to serve your highness in so famous and glorious an enterprise ; and that I may be the more capable to contribute somewhat to such religious and just ends,

190 “ First, in discharge of my conscience towards God, my duty to the king my master, and to disabuse your highness, and give a clear and perfect information, so far as comes to my knowledge, I am obliged to represent unto your highness, that, by the title of that agreement, and the articles therein contained, made by those commissioners I employed to your highness, and but lately come into my hands, they have violated the trust I reposed in them, by having cast off and declined the commission and instructions they had from me in the king my master’s behalf, and all other powers that could by any other means be derived from him, and pretend to make an agreement with your highness, in the name of the kingdom and people of Ireland, for which they had not nor could have any warrantable authority, and have abused your highness by the counterfeit show of a private instrument, fraudulently procured, and signed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable and factious persons, ill affected to his majesty’s authority, without any consent or knowledge of the generality of the nation, or the persons of greatest quality and interest therein, and who, under a seeming zeal and pretence of service and affection to your highness, labour more to satisfy their private ambitions than the advantage of religion or nation, or the prosperous success of your highness’ generous undertakings.

191 “ And to manifest the clearness of my own proceedings, and to make such deceitful practices the more apparent, I send your highness herewith an authentic copy of my instructions, which accompanied their commission when I employed them to your highness, as sufficient evidence to convince them ; and having thus fully manifested their breach of public trust, I am obliged, in the king my master’s name, to protest against their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all agreements and acts whatsoever, concluded by those commissioners, to be void and illegal, being not derived from or consonant to his majesty’s authority. Being in duty obliged thus far to vindicate the king my master’s honour and authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted rights from such deceitful and rebellious practices ; as likewise with an humble and respective care to prevent those prejudices that might befall your highness, in being deluded by counterfeit shows of doing you the greater honour, when it is apparent that any undertaking laid upon such false and ill grounded

principles, as hath been smoothly disguised and fixed upon the nation, as their desire and request, must overthrow all those heroic and princely acts your highness hath proposed to yourself, for God's glory and service, the restoration of oppressed majesty, and the relief of this distressed kingdom, which would at least immediately fall into intestine broils and divisions, if not forcibly driven into desperation ; I shall now, with a hopeful and cheerful importunity, upon a clear score, (free from those deceits,) propose unto your highness, that, for the advancement of all those great ends you aim at, (and in the king my master's behalf, and in the name of all the loyal catholic subjects of this nation, and for the preservation of those important cautionary places that are security for your highness' past and present disbursements,) you will be pleased to quicken and hasten those aids and assistances you intended for the relief of Ireland ; and I shall, with my whole power, and through the greatest hazards, not only strive to defend them for you, and preserve all other ports that may be at all times of advantage and safeguard to your fleets and men of war, having yet many good harbours left, but also engage, in the king my master's name, whatsoever may prove to your satisfaction, that is any way consistent with his honour and authority ; and have made my humble applications to the queen's majesty and my lord lieutenant, (the king was at that time in Scotland,) further to agree, confirm, and secure whatsoever may be of most advantage to your highness : and if the last galliot had brought us but ten thousand pounds for this instant time, it would have contributed more to the recovery of this kingdom than far greater sums delayed, by enabling our forces to meet together for the relief of Limerick, which cannot but be in great distress after so long a siege, and which if lost, (though I shall endeavour to prevent it,) will cost much treasure to be regained : and if your highness shall be pleased to go on cheerfully, freely, and seasonably with this great work, I make no question but God will give so great a blessing thereunto, as that myself and all loyal subjects of this kingdom may soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to posterity, that your highness was the great and glorious restorer of our religion, monarch, and nation.

¹⁹² " And that your highness may not be discouraged or diverted from this generous enterprise by the malice or invectives of any

ill affected, it is a necessary duty in me to represent unto your highness, that the bishop of Fernes, who, as I am informed, hath gained some interest in your favour, is a person that hath ever been violent against and malicious to his majesty's authority and government, and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting all those divisions and differences that have rent asunder this kingdom, the introduction to our present misery and weak condition : and that your highness may clearly know his disposition, I send herewith a copy of part of a letter written by him, directed to the lord Taaffe, sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Mr. Jeffery Brown, (which was part of that letter mentioned before,) and humbly submit to your judgment, whether those expressions be agreeable to the temper and charity of an apostolical spirit, and (considering whose person and authority I represent) what ought to be the reward for such a crime. I must therefore desire your highness, in the king my master's behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intrusted in any affairs that have relation to his majesty's interests in this kingdom ; where I shall constantly endeavour, by all possible service, to deserve your highness' good opinion, and obtaining that favour to be a most faithful acknowledger of it, in the capacity and under the title of

“ Your highness’

Athenree, 20th

Oct. 1651.

“ most humble and

“ obliged servant,

“ CLANRICKARD.”

193 It cannot be doubted but that what this eminent catholic lord (who for his loyalty and religion hath been and is despoiled of as great a fortune as most subjects enjoy in any kingdom) hath said concerning that treaty will find more credit with the world than any thing that the bishop of Fernes, or any obscure loose friar, can publish in the bitterness of their spirit, who too much declare the irreverence they bear towards majesty by their want of duty and rudeness to those who are intrusted to govern them, and the contempt they have of all laws which are to restrain and contain them within the rules of obedience. One of the principal motives which induced the marquis to submit

to that great charge, and to undertake a province which he knew would be very burdensome and grievous in several respects, was the joint promise that the city of Limerick and the town of Galway would pay all imaginable duty to him: the clergy obliged themselves in that particular with all confidence, and the deputies of the places promised all that could be desired: but when the deputy found it necessary to settle that business, they would neither receive governor nor garrison from him; and when he offered himself to stay in Limerick, (when Ireton was drawing before it,) and to run his fortune with them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the lord lieutenant. It is true, both Limerick and Galway were contented to receive soldiers, but they were of their own choosing, not such, either in number or quality, as the lord deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their security: they chose likewise their own governors, or rather kept the government themselves, and gave the title to one whom they thought least like to contradict them; and, in a word, behaved themselves like two commonwealths, and obeyed the deputy no further than they were inclined by their own conveniences; they who compounded with the rebels in the country corresponded with their friends in the towns, and thereby gave the enemy intelligence of all that passed. Wonderful diligence was used to make it be thought and believed that the independents were not uncharitable to the catholics, and that they wished not any compulsion should be used in matters of conscience; and when the acts of cruelty and blood, of putting their priests and prelates to ignominious deaths, (of which there were new instances every day,) were mentioned, it was answered, those proceedings were carried on by the power of the presbyterians very much against the nature and the principles of the other party.

194 This license of communication, and the evil conse-

quences that must attend it, was enough understood by the lord deputy; but could no more be prevented, reformed, or punished, than he could infuse a new heart and spirit into the people. One instance will serve turn. There was in the town one friar Anthony Gaughagan, who had always adhered to the nuncio, and opposed the king's authority to the utmost of his power: several letters written and sent by him into the rebels' quarters were intercepted and brought to the deputy; in which, though there were many things in cipher, there appeared much of the present state and condition of the town; and in one of them, dated the 4th of February, 1651, there were these words: "If the service of God had been as deep in the hearts of our nation as that idol of Dagon, a foolish loyalty, a better course for the honour and preservation had been taken in time." The deputy believed the crime to be so apparent, and of such a nature, that what complices soever he might have, none would have the courage to appear in his behalf; and that he might give the clergy opportunity to shew their zeal in a business that concerned so much their common safety, he referred the examination of the friar to the bishops (whereof there were three or four then in the town) and to some other of the principal clergy, and appointed them to require him to produce the cipher which he had used, and to examine him to whom the letters were intended, they being directed to counterfeit and supposititious names. The cipher was produced accordingly; and thereby many expressions in the letters appeared full of neglect and reproach of the king, and others of insolence and contumely towards the lord deputy; they mentioned the little hope was left of relief from the duke of Lorrain, and that they resolved to send one to treat with the rebels, and had found a private means of conveying a person to that purpose. The friar promised to use all his diligence to dispose

the catholics to have a good opinion of the independents, and made some requests concerning himself. All that he alleged for his defence was, that the letters written by him were to one who was employed by the court of Rome; that he had no ill meaning against the king or the deputy; and that he had himself a trust from Rome, and instructions from the secretary of the congregation *de propaganda fide*; and the bishops certified that they had seen the instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the temporal state: and this was all the satisfaction and all the justice the lord deputy could procure, though he writ several letters of expostulation to the bishops thereupon. And whether this be a part of the privileges and immunities of the catholic Roman church, and enjoyed in any catholic country, and whether it can be indulged to them in any other country where the authority of the bishop of Rome is not submittted to, we must leave to the world to judge and determine. And if protestant kings and princes are provident and severe for the prevention of such practices, and for the establishing their own security, it must not be imputed to an unreasonable jealousy of or prejudice to the Roman catholic religion, but to the unreasonableness and presumption of those men who have pretended religion for their warrant or excuse for the most unlawful and unjustifiable actions.

195 This was the obedience and submission they paid to the king's authority and government. Let us see now what government they provided for themselves, and what course they, who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were trusted by the king, took for their own security and preservation, and what power the bishops and clergy had to support their own interest and dignity after they had appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the king.

196 The city of Limerick was entirely governed by the

clergy : how it rejected the first peace in the year 1646 ; affronted the herald king at arms, when he came to proclaim it ; wounded and turned out the mayor, and chose Dominic Fanning, the captain of that tumult and outrage, mayor in his place ; and how it submitted to the good-will and pleasure of the nuncio thereupon, is before remembered. How it behaved itself towards the marquis of Ormond after the second peace, and after it had promised to receive a garrison ; how father Wolfe, a friar, raised a mutiny, upon which they refused to receive it, or to admit the lord lieutenant into the town, when upon their own invitation he was come even to the gate, is likewise before set out. Contrary to their obligation and solemn promise, they continued the same obstinacy to the marquis of Clanrickard ; refused to receive such a governor and garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to receive himself into the town with the power and authority of deputy, after he had assumed that place and title upon their importunity and promise of obedience. However, he sent such men to them, both officers and soldiers, as they desired, and no others : let us see the success.

197 As soon as Ireton came before it, and before they were pressed with any wants, they began to discourse of treating with the rebels. All the considerations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the improbability of their receiving any succour proportionable to their wants ; yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known that Ireton would except very many principal persons amongst them, to whom no mercy should be shewed ; nor could they expect any conditions for the exercise of their religion, which they had been hitherto so jealous of. The governor had only the title, and the power to set the watch, but the mayor kept the keys, and had many of the principal officers at his devotion. Upon the twenty-

third of October, a mixed council of officers, and of those of the civil government, met in the town-house, to consult what was to be done in order to a treaty with the enemy; and after a long debate, it was concluded by the major part that they would proceed to a treaty, and that they would not break it off upon the exemption of any persons from quarter, or confiscation of their goods: and the next day was appointed for the choosing commissioners to be sent to the rebels. The result of the yesterday's debate being known in the town, they no sooner met for the election of commissioners for the treaty, than the bishops of Limerick and Emly, with the clergy, came to the town-house, and threatened them to issue out an excommunication against them if they proceeded in those counsels, the effect whereof would be the delivery up of the prelates to be slaughtered. Notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming the persons who should treat for them. Whereupon the bishops published their excommunication, with a perpetual interdict of the city, which was fixed to the doors of all churches and chapels in the town: but, alas! these fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used to retain any virtue in the times of need; as catholic as the town was, (and there was not one protestant in it,) the excommunication wrought no effect. That very night, colonel Fennell, and other officers of the combination, that pressed on the treaty, possessed themselves of St. John's Gate tower and Cluane tower, and drove the guard from thence; and when major general O'Neil (who had the title of governor of the town) came thither, and demanded by what authority they were there, he having given them orders to guard another quarter of the town, they answered, the best of the town knew and approved what they did. And it was very true the mayor was of the party, and had delivered the key of that port to colonel Fennell, though

he denied it to the other party that opposed the treaty. The governor called a council of war, and sent for Fennell to appear before them, who refused to come; and being supplied with powder from the mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town, and declared that he would not quit the place he was possessed of till the city should be yielded to the enemy. Commissioners were sent out to Ireton, who would give no other conditions, than that the garrison should lay down their arms, the officers retaining their swords, and march to what place they would, except only those who were exempt from mercy, (who, of soldiers and citizens, amounted to the number of twenty-four.) The inhabitants had three months time assigned to them to transport their persons, and three months more to remove their goods, without any place in the kingdom appointed in which they might live. It cannot be believed that these unequal and severe conditions would have been accepted from an army not strong enough to have imposed them upon a people unwilling to have submitted to them, and in a season of the year that alone would have secured a place less provided for resistance, (for it was now the end of October or the beginning of November,) but that colonel Fennell, the same night these hard demands were sent into the town, received into St. John's Gate tower two hundred men from Ireton, and others were removed into another fort, called Prite's Mill; where, after they had continued about two days, and the people of the town not yet agreeing what they would do, a drum was sent through the city, commanding all manner of troopers and soldiers in pay within the town to repair to our Lady's church, and there to lay down their arms; which was presently obeyed; and the soldiers, being bid forthwith to leave the town, Ireton marched in, received the keys, and was without any contradiction quietly possessed of all he desired, causing as many of the

excepted persons as could be found to be committed to prison.

198 In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the catholic Irish; and this obedience did the prelates and clergy, in their need, receive from those over whom they had power enough to seduce them from the duty they owed to the king, and from submitting to his authority; and now was the harvest that they gathered the fruit of all their labours. The instances of severity and blood which the rebels gave upon their being possessed of this place were very remarkable. The bishop of Limerick had that dexterity and good fortune, that either by marching out amongst the common soldiers, or by concealing himself with some faithful friend in town, (which is not so probable,) he escaped their hands, who manifested enough what his portion would have been by the treatment they gave to the bishop of Emely, whom they took, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, caused to be publicly hanged. This unhappy prelate had from the beginning opposed with most passion the king's authority, and most obstinately adhered to the nuncio, and to that party still which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably and ignominiously put to death by those who were equally enemies to the king, and in that city from whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his majesty's authority. It may be remembered in the former part of this discourse, that when the king at arms proclaimed the first peace in Limerick, in the year 1646, one Dominic Fanning, a citizen of the town, raised a mutiny, and led on that rabble which committed that violence upon the herald and assaulted and wounded the mayor, and was himself made mayor in his place by the nuncio, and so kept that town in rebellion. The same man continued the same spirit against his majesty's authority, and always opposed

the receiving of a garrison, when, after the last peace, the lord lieutenant so often and so earnestly pressed the same, as the only means to preserve the city. This Dominic Fanning, being one of those twenty-four which Ireton had excepted, found a way amongst the common soldiers to get out of the town, notwithstanding all the diligence that was used to discover him. When he was free and in safety, he returned to the town to fetch some money that he had privately hid, and to make some provision for his subsistence, which he had not time to do before ; but going in the night to his own house, his wife refused to receive him, or to assist him with any thing ; whereupon he departed ; and after he had walked up and down the streets some time, the weather being extremely cold, he went to the main guard, where was a good fire, and being discovered to be a stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confessed that he was Dominic Fanning for whom such strict search had been made : he was apprehended, the next morning carried before the governor, and immediately hanged.

199 There was another example no less memorable, in which two other notorious persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy parts in the same city, when the marquis of Ormond had so often in vain pressed Limerick to receive a garrison, and the commissioners of trust had used all their persuasions and authority to the same purpose. The rebels' army being then so near, that it was believed they intended to sit down before it, the council of the town sent two of the aldermen to invite the lord lieutenant thither, being then within less than a day's journey of the city. How he was used when he came almost to the gates is before remembered, and how the same aldermen were sent out to inform him that there was a mutiny raised to hinder his being received, and till that was appeased or composed he was desired to forbear approaching nearer. That mutiny was raised by

one Wolfe, a friar, who persuaded the simple people that the receiving the lord lieutenant would be a great prejudice to their religion, which, with the countenance of alderman Thomas Stretch, who was then mayor of that city, easily raised the tumult that caused the gates to be shut when he was ready to enter. This alderman and that friar were both taken upon the surrender of Limerick, and both, without any formality of justice, hanged by those who but for them would never in probability have been masters of the town. Lastly, this very colonel Fennell, who, by possessing himself of a port, and turning the cannon upon the town, betrayed the place to the rebels, though he had for the present the benefit of those articles, was, within few months after, taken by them, and, without any consideration of his late merit, was hanged, as the rest had been : in a word, all those who had been the first causers and raisers of the rebellion, or who with most malice and obstinacy opposed their return to the king's obedience, and had the misfortune to fall into the rebels' hands, (as the bishop of Rosse, who was taken and hanged by the lord Broghill ; Jeffery Baron, who kept Waterford from receiving the lord lieutenant, taken afterwards at Limerick and hanged there ; and many others,) were all made examples of unusual rigour by the rebels, and are such circumstances of calamity as are not frequently met with in story, and ought to be revolved by the survivors upon a just and a pious recollection of God's wonderful proceedings against them.

²⁰⁰ The business of Limerick being thus over, Ireton, within few days after, and without drawing his army nearer than the castle of Clare, sent a most insolent summons to the town of Galway, wishing them to put him to no more trouble, lest they fared as Limerick did, adding such other threats as he thought most like to make impression on them ; and a great impression they did make :

but by the death of Ireton they had a little respite, the rebels not being so entirely united under command as before ; and then the town of Galway addressed themselves to the lord deputy, and desired his assistance, promising all obedience to his majesty's authority in him. Nor was he so much discouraged by their former carriage, and their having accepted the articles made with the duke of Lorrain, and their declaring him to be their protector without ever communicating it to the deputy, as to decline having further to do with them ; but upon their first address to him he sent his secretary to them with some directions ; and shortly after went himself thither, having summoned such of the nobility, the prelates, and principal gentry, as could with safety repair thither, to consult what might yet be done for their defence ; they having still men enough dispersed in several parties to resist the enemy, if they were drawn together and united amongst themselves ; and the town of Galway was so good a port, that any supplies or succours might come from abroad to them.

201 All disputes upon command being quickly composed amongst the rebels, a small party was sent, under the command of sir Charles Coote, to straiten Galway ; which wrought so far upon the assembly there, that they importuned the deputy to give them leave to send to the commander in chief of the rebels for a safe conduct for their commissioners, to treat for some conditions for the nation, upon which they might submit to the government of the parliament ; professing that they would in the mean time make such preparations for their defence, that if the parliament would not give them good and ample conditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear rate, that should make their conquest of little use to their enemies. But when they found that they could not have so much as a safe conduct sent for their commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat

for the nation, but only that particular places and persons might be admitted to compound for themselves on such terms as others had done, their spirits failed them, and after a very little deliberation, and before they put the rebels to the trouble of besieging them, without so much as consulting with the lord deputy, or asking his leave, (albeit he was within less than half a day's journey of the town,) they entered into a treaty, and in a short time after surrendered the town into the hands of the rebels, who were amazed to see upon what easy terms they parted with their last town, having still, in loose parties over the kingdom, more men in arms to have defended it than the English could have brought against the town.

.²⁰² The marquis of Clanrickard did not leave the kingdom in many months after the surrender of this town, but endeavoured by all ways possible to draw the scattered forces together, that he might once fight the rebels. But at the last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received the king's commands to take care of his own security, and that he fell not into the rebels' hands ; after he saw those upon whose public fidelity and private affections he depended as much as upon any fall every day from him, and submit to the rebels upon such conditions as did hardly assure them of life, at best but of liberty to transport themselves to the service of such a foreign prince as the rebels believed to be their friend ; and after he was reduced to those straits that he durst not reside twenty-four hours in one place, for fear of being betrayed and delivered up into the hands of the rebels, and having no port to friend, where a vessel might attend to transport, he was in the end compelled to ask a pass from the rebels, which they readily and willingly sent to him, and which he accepted, without making any other conditions for himself, than that he might for some time remain secure within their quarters without taking the oaths usually imposed by them, and

afterwards have liberty to transport himself into the parts beyond the sea: whereas, if he had demanded a good proportion to be allowed to him out of his own great estate, and promised to have given them no further trouble, it is probable they would have consented to it: but the integrity and greatness of his heart would not suffer him to enjoy any thing by the favour and permission of those whose destruction he desired, and meant always to prosecute. And so he transported himself, in a vessel belonging to the rebels, out of Ireland, about March or April in the year 1652, after he had borne the title of the king's deputy of that kingdom little more than two years, with very little more obedience from the catholic Irish than had before been paid the lord lieutenant.

203 This was the fate of that unhappy kingdom, both under the protestant and the Roman catholic governors; and as the catholic governor, and all other catholics over whom he had power, and indeed very many of the principal catholics of the kingdom, paid all the obedience due to the lord lieutenant whilst he remained amongst them with the king's authority; so the same persons who most opposed him, and crossed and hindered the submission to his orders, and would have his religion to be believed the cause of the disobedience he found in the people, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the catholic governor; the same corporations continued the same disobedience to the latter as well as to the former; and the same prelates and clergy supported and encouraged them in it; and, as if the public calamities and judgments, and the particular fate that hath befallen many of their friends, had made no impression upon their spirits, they have transplanted their uncharitableness and animosities, to keep them company in their banishment; and the same persons continue their virulence and bitterness against the one and the other, justify all those proceedings which have been the groundwork of their and

their country's destruction, of the almost extirpation of the catholic religion out of that kingdom ; and yet are so extremely blinded with their passion, that they hope to be thought to suffer all upon the impulsion of conscience, and for the Roman catholic religion, and, which is more strange, for their loyalty and allegiance to the king : and at the same time would be believed to be most obedient subjects to the king, and the most zealous assertors of the regal power ; and at the same time justify and magnify the proceedings of the nuncio, reproach those catholics who adhered to the lord lieutenant, and to the peace made by the nation as excommunicated persons, and all the other acts done afterwards by the clergy, without the least shadow of law or gospel to support them.

²⁰⁴ Having drawn this discourse to a greater length than in the beginning I thought I should have had occasion to have done, I shall conclude with the earnest desires with which I began, that the small seduced number of that unhappy nation, which continue in the same error they began, and persevere in building upon such foundations as can support no structure of catholic religion or loyalty, seriously to revolve what they have done; the condition which that nation enjoyed before the late rebellion, and the state to which they are now fallen ; how much they trespassed against the laws of God and the laws of the kingdom, in kindling that fire which hath consumed all their habitations, and is not yet extinguished, nor can be, but by their real acknowledgment and repentence. Let them remember that they are subjects to a protestant king, and in a kingdom where the protestant religion is by the laws established, and the Roman catholic at least not countenanced and supported ; and how incongruous a thing it is, and destructive to their own ends, to have it believed that their religion does oblige or prompt them to any actions repugnant to

the loyalty they owe to their king, or their obedience, without which the peace of the kingdom cannot be preserved: let them be so modest as not to affect to be thought better catholics than those of their own country who differ from them in the profession they make, and are much superior to them in quality and in number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another faith than the catholic church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves obliged by their religion to do that as Irish catholics, or to justify it, (when they have done it,) which Italian, Spanish, and French catholics (whose religion is supported by law, and the opposite condemned) would hold sinful to do, though they had the pope's authority and command for every individual act.. Do the prelates of the French church believe themselves qualified to excommunicate marshal Turenne because he is not a Roman catholic, and is thought to be an enemy to that profession? and can they absolve his soldiers from obedience to him whilst the king of France makes him general of his army? And what would the most Christian king do, if his prelates presumed to exercise that jurisdiction? If the catholics of Catalonia should after so many years rebellion return to their allegiance upon articles of indemnity from their king, and any nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those articles, as not ample enough for their security, would the king of Spain be well pleased with that presumption, and excuse those subjects, who out of the terror of such an excommunication should fall from that duty they had newly professed to him, or who sought absolution for not submitting to it? Will the republic of Venice or any prince of Italy suffer their subjects to pay such an obedience to St. Peter's chair, or will they distinguish in their process against their subjects in such a spiritual rebellion and between those who raise arms, seize their forts, or conspire the death of their sovereign? If none of these catholic na-

tions are liable to these obligations, or can enjoy these privileges, how come the subjects of Ireland to be possessed of them, and the king of Ireland to be so much below his other brethren, the Christian monarchs? If their religion will not allow the same obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill argument to induce him to be gracious to that religion. Away then with that anti-christian spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done, and discrediting catholic religion, as if it would not suffer its children to be dutiful and loyal subjects to protestant kings and princes; and let what was done in the beginning and progress of the rebellion against the elements of Christianity be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more be justified to the world; and what was done in violation of the laws and government be acknowledged and excused to the king, by the distemper and accidents of the times, and the unjustifiable proceedings of those who were unhappily trusted with the administration of justice and policy, without defending it by such principles as must leave the laws always in danger to be invaded by the same license. Away with that uncharitable and undermining spirit of fomenting jealousy and animosity against the catholic Roman religion and the professors of it, by owning and professing an incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those who are not of the same faith, and whose profession is cherished by the established laws of the land, the indulgence whereof the other desires and expects; and of raising enemies to a nation, by avowing any national distrust, and dislike of any who have been for so many ages incorporated with them under the same obligation of religion or allegiance: and let there be a joint endeavour and emulation to justify and commend their distinct professions of distinct faiths, by producing the unquestionable effects of true religion, in the piety and sanctity of their lives towards God, the

duty and obedience of all their actions towards the king, and the kindness and peaceableness of their conversation towards each other and all their fellow-subjects. Lastly, away with that immodest and rude spirit of reproaching and reviling those who, by their extraction and quality and interest, are their superiors, and have been or shall be placed by the king in any degree of government or command over them since the duty and obedience due to kings and princes includes a proportion of respect and reverence towards their deputies and ministers of trust; and let that civility of address and decency of language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid consideration of their desires and complaints, at least that a just prejudice to their manners may not bring a fatal prejudice upon their profession and pretences. In a word, let them believe that any virulence and bitterness and distemper of language is not the plaster of Isaiah, to heal the wound, but of Ezekiel, to make it raw, though it were healed before; and let them make that sanctified use of what they have done and what they have suffered, of what they have heard and what they have seen, that they may not fall under that curse of our Saviour himself, *that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.*

THE END.

APPENDIX.

A COLLECTION OF THE SEVERAL MASSACRES AND MURDERS COMMITTED BY THE IRISH SINCE THE 23d OF OCTOBER, 1641.

The county of Antrim.

THE rebels confessed to this deponent [Dr. Maxwell] that they killed in one morning nine hundred and fifty-four in this county; and that besides them, they supposed they had killed eleven or twelve hundred more in that county.

The county of Armagh.

Protestants in multitudes forced over the bridge of Portnedown, whereby at several times there were drowned in the river of Banne above one thousand.

Great numbers of protestants drowned at Corbridge and Kynard in the county of Armagh.

Mr. Fullerton, clerk, Mr. Aubrey, Mr. Gladwich, murdered in the way towards Portnedown.

Many others murdered; five murdered soon after the beginning of the rebellion; fifty murdered at Blackwater-church; twenty drowned near the water of Callon, and several others murdered.

Mr. William Blundell drawn by the neck in a rope up and down Blackwater at Charlemont to confess money; and three weeks after he, with his wife and seven children, drowned. Four and forty at several times murdered: a wife compelled to hang her own husband: with several other notorious murders.

Mr. Robinson, the minister, his wife, and three children, and seven more murdered.

Two and twenty protestants put into a thatched house, in the parish of Kilmore, and there burned alive.

The lord Caufield murdered.

Dr. Hodges, with forty-three more, murdered within a quarter of a mile of Charlemont.

The wife of Arnold Taylor, great with child, had her belly ripped up, then drowned.

Thomas Mason buried alive.

Seventeen men, women, and children, cast into a bog-pit in the parish of Dumcrees : many more murdered.

Fifteen hundred murdered in three parishes ; twenty-seven more murdered ; Mr. Cambell drowned.

Three hundred protestants stripped naked, and put into the church of Loghgall, whereof about one hundred murdered within the church ; amongst whom John Gregg was quartered alive, his quarters thrown into the face of Richard Gregg his father. The said Richard was after there murdered, having received seventeen or eighteen wounds, after cut into quarters in this deponent's (his wife's) presence. Such as were not murdered, were turned out a begging amongst the Irish, naked, and into the cold, most of which were killed by Irish cripples, their trulls, and children.

One hundred and eighty drowned (at twice) at the bridge of Callon.

One hundred (some say two hundred) more in a lough near Ballimackilmorrogh.

Mr. Gabriel Constable, and his mother, eighty years old, murdered.

Five hundred murdered at Armagh, besides forty-eight families murdered in the parish of Killaman.

Three had their brains knocked out with a hatchet within the church of Benhurb ; eight women drowned in a river under the same church ; Christopher Glover murdered.

Lieutenant James Maxwell (by order from sir Phelim O'Neil) was dragged out of his bed, (raving in the height of a burning fever,) driven two miles, and murdered ; his wife, great with child, stripped stark naked, and drowned in the Blackwater, the child half born.

Mr. Starkey (about one hundred years old) and his two daughters stripped naked, the daughters forced to support and lead their father, (he being not able to go of himself,) and having gone three quarters of a mile, were all three drowned in a turf-pit.

Divers Englishmen in the parish of Levilegish murdered.

Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Franlan, (both great with child,) and six of their children, murdered.

The county of Caterlagh.

Richard Lake hanged at Leighlin-bridge, sixteen more hanged near that place, two murdered near Caterlagh, two women hanged up by the hair of their heads all night, the next day being found still alive, they were murdered.

At or near Leighlin-bridge, three men with their wives and children murdered, one woman and her daughter murdered, a woman newly delivered of two children, the one of them had his brains beaten out against the stones, and after thrown into the river Barrow, the other destroyed ; about forty English murdered thereabouts. Almost all the English about Gowran and Wells hanged and murdered.

The county of Cavan.

Many protestants forced over the bridge of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, and there drowned.

Adam Bayley, and several others murdered at Kilkolly in the county of Cavan.

William Rocket drowned near Belhorber.

Several Scotch families destroyed, two of the Hovies and Abraham Jones murdered, with several other murders committed at Butler's-bridge.

A distracted gentleman run through with a pike, he laughing the while.

The county of Clare.

Christopher Hehditch, and sixteen more English protestants, murdered at or near the castle of Inchechrony.

The county of Cork.

Thomas Lencomb and his wife hanged at their own door ; John Seller, a miller, cut in pieces hard by Ross ; John Carpenter

and his wife hanged in Mr. Morgan's wood, and their three children starved in the place; Mary Tukesbury hanged near thereunto: Mr. Tamuse, a chirurgeon-barber, killed in the streets of Ross by one Christopher Cloud.

The county of Donegal.

William Mackenny and his mother-in-law, and his wife great with child, murdered, his said wife having her belly ripped up, and the child cut out of the womb.

Robert Akins, clerk, and thirteen more, murdered at Castledoe.

Sixty persons that came in boats from Killala, murdered by the Mac Swines and O'Boyles.

The county of Down.

Eighty forced to go on the ice on Loghearn, till they brake the ice, and were drowned.

Mr. Tudge, the minister of Newry, lieutenant Trevor and his wife, and twenty-four more, (some count fifty,) murdered and cut in pieces at the pass of Ballonery.

Divers murdered at Castle-Island and Down.

A Scotchman, an Englishman, and a Welchman imprisoned in the stocks at Newcastle, where they lay without breeches upon raw hides, that their joints rotted, insomuch that when two of them were afterwards hanged, one of their feet fell off by the ankle.

A Scotchman being driven out of the Newry was knocked on the head by the rebels, yet recovering himself, came naked again into the town, whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of town, cut him all to pieces, and with a skein ripped up his wife's belly, so as a child dropped out of her womb.

A dyer's wife of Ross-Trevor was killed at the Newry, and her belly ripped up by the rebels, (she being great with child of two children,) who threw her and her children into a ditch, and that he, this deponent, drove away swine from eating one of her children.

The rebels confessed that colonel Brian O'Neil killed about one thousand in this county, besides three hundred killed at Killelagh.

At Servagh-bridge one hundred drowned, more eighty, more sixty, more fifty, more sixty, twenty-seven men murdered.

The county of Dublin.

About the 28th of December, 1641, the wife of Joseph Smithson, minister, was carried from Dean's-grange near Dublin to Stellorgan, from thence to Powerscourt, and there she and her servant hanged.

Henry Maudesley hanged at Moore-town.

Mr. Pardoe, a minister, and William Rimmer, a packet post, murdered at Balrothery, Mr. Pardoe being afterwards cast on a dunghill, and his head eaten with swine.

Derrick Hubert, of Holm-Patrick, esq., murdered the 2d of December, 1641.

Nicholas Kendiff murdered near Dublin, since the cessation.

Robert Fagan murdered at Clunduff.

The county of Fermanagh.

Arthur Champion and sixteen more murdered at Shanock-Castle; at another time twenty-four; at another time two more murdered.

One Fermency killed, and fourteen hanged.

Seven hanged at one time, and divers others put to death.

Eighty (some write an hundred and fifty) men, women, and children, burned and killed in the castle of Lisgorl in the county of Fermanagh.

Ninety protestants murdered at Moneagh-Castle, eighty at Tullagh-Castle; near Cordiller three hanged; one more hanged.

Mr. Middleton and a hundred more murdered by Rowry MacGuire at Castleskeagh.

Fourteen protestants hanged.

Forty protestants in the parish of Newtown murdered.

Eighteen (some write seventeen) half hanged in the church of Clownish, and so buried.

Thirty murdered in the parish of Clankelly.

Twelve more murdered in Newtown.

William Ogden murdered.

Parson Flack, and forty more, after promise of safe conveyance to Balgshanon, drowned by Rowry Mac-Guire and his confederates.

One hundred fifty and two (another says a hundred) murdered at Tully, after quarter given or promised them.

Fifteen hanged at Lowtherstown ; two murdered at Kynally.

A child of Thomas Strattons of Newton boiled to death in a caldron.

The county of Galway.

Mr. Adam Novell and six more hanged and murdered by the lord of Clanmorris.

Hugh Langridge murdered near Loghreogh, having received near sixteen wounds ; and his son, having nine wounds, and left for dead, yet recovered.

Mr. Corbet, an ancient minister, had his head cut off by two young cowherds near Loghreogh.

The son of an Englishman murdered ; a child so beaten as he died within three days.

Sixty-five protestants (some say eighty, some ninety, many of them ministers) were murdered at the bridge of Shreel, alias Shruel, Ludovicus Jones being amongst the rest hurried there to that intent, but escaped, and died at Dublin, 1646, aged one hundred and four.

The county of Kerry.

Mrs. Whittell, her husband, and eight more, murdered on sir Valentine Brown's lands ; John and Simon Heard killed near Castlehaven ; Goodman Cranbee, his wife and children, murdered ; seven drowned by O'Doinfaint's rebels.

Anthony Field's wife and seven more destroyed by sir Valentine Brown's tenants.

Mrs. Burrill killed in her house by her own servant ; Lawrence Parry, his two sisters, and Mr. Edward Lassell starved to death ; Mrs. Hussie, her son and daughter, and many more killed going from Macrone to Cork, (with a convoy which the lord Muskerry did allow her,) within a mile of Cork.

The county of Kildare.

Ralph Heyward (having turned to mass) was murdered, his wife and children hanged, the one at her neck, the other at her girdle ; a dog and a cat hanged with them.

Robert Woods shot to death.

John Morley, his wife and children, and one John Plivie, (after they were turned to mass,) murdered.

The county of Kilkenny.

About the 20th of December, 1641, the protestants were stripped naked at Kilkenny, and whereas some of those stripped people with ropes of straw covered some part of their nakedness, the rebels set the straw on fire, thereby burning and grievously scorching them. Six soldiers and two boys having quarter given them, were nevertheless hanged at Kilkenny.

A young girl stripped about Easter, 1642, in the city of Kilkenny, by a butcher, her belly ripped up that her entrails fell out; where the mayor (upon complaint of the mother) bade away with her and despatch her; whereupon the mother received seventeen or eighteen wounds, and her other child was also extremely wounded, and all forced out of the city by men, women, and boys, throwing stones and dirt at them, so as the two children died in a ditch.

At Kilkenny, seven Englishmen hanged, and one Irishman, because he was taken in their company.

Twelve murdered at the Graige, one of them (being a woman great with child) had her belly ripped up, the child falling out alive, and a child of a year and a half old hanged. Another of them, named Robert Pyne, (being twice hanged up,) was cast into his grave, where he sat up, saying, *Christ receive my soul,* and so was buried quick.

An old man hanged, and afterwards dragged up and down till his bowels fell out.

Christopher Morley, and two English boys, at Castle-Comer, hanged. Another had his head clove, and before he was dead hung on his father's tenter-hooks.

About sixty men, women, and children more murdered at the Graige; many of them buried alive.

At Balincolough, within four miles of Ross, April 1642, John Stone of the Graige, his son, his two sons-in-law, and his two daughters were hanged; one of his daughters being great with child had her belly ripped up, her child taken forth, and such barbarous beastly actions used to her, as are not fit to be mentioned.

In Kilkenny, Richard Philips, and five other soldiers under capt. Farrall, (a captain on his majesty's party,) were, (by the command of the lord Mountgarret,) at the end of an house, hanged to death about Easter, 1642.

The King's County.

Mrs. Jane Addis, of Kilcoursie, (after her going to mass,) murdered in her house in Fox Countrey Com. Regis, having a child not a quarter old ; the murderers putting the dead woman's breast into the child's mouth, bade it, ' Suck, English bastard,' and so left it.

Arthur Scot murdered at Laslooney, having twenty wounds given him ; another Englishman hanged at the same place.

Two men murdered at Philips-town.

Seven murdered at the Birr.

Thomas Horam hanged at Philps-town.

Henry Bigland and eleven more hanged and murdered about Knocknemeis.

A woman aged eighty years stripped naked in frost and snow by two daughters of Rowry Coghlan of Fercall-wood, before whose door she died.

John Lurcan murdered and chopped in pieces.

Four English murdered at Terence Coghlan's house (Kilkolgan) about December, 1641.

Two and twenty widows, and several stripped naked, who covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels fired the straw, and threw it amongst them to burn them ; and they had been burned, had they not been rescued by others, who turned them out naked in frost and snow, so as many died, yea the children died in their mothers' arms.

The county of Lytrim.

Mr. William Liston and Mr. Thomas Fullerton, clerks, kept two days without meat or drink, and then murdered near Manor Hamilton, 24th of January, 1641.

An English child taken by the heels, had its brains dashed out against a block of timber.

The county of Limerick.

A minister, his wife, and four children murdered by Hugh Kenedy and his followers, near Limerick.

The county of Londonderry.

Six hundred English murdered at Gervagh by sir Phelim O'Neil.

The county of Longford.

Many cruelly murdered at Longford, after quarter promised.

William Steel and four others hanged at a windmill near to Racleen till they were half dead, and then cut in pieces by the rebels.

The wife of Henry Mead hanged, the said Henry himself being placed in a ring amongst the rebels, each stabbing of him as he was forced to flee from side to side, and so continued till his shoulder and breast were cut in two with a bill-hook.

George Forster, his wife and child, and the wife of John Bizell, murdered at Billinecorr ; one other drowned ; some children there buried alive.

The county of Louth.

Eighteen of the lord Moor's servants murdered at Mellifort, by col. Cole Mac Bryan Mac Mahon, and his followers, who would not suffer them to be buried.

The county of Mayo.

About seven and twenty protestants, besides children, drowned in the bay or harbour near Killala, by the instigation of the friars.

Thirty or forty English (formerly turned papists) drowned in the sea near Killala..

A young boy (Mr. Montgomery's son) killed by one that had been his schoolmaster ; the boy the while crying, "Good master do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will." A man wounded and buried alive. A minister murdered after he had gone to mass : another hanged near Ballyhen.

At the Moyne, alias Mogne, fifty-nine protestants stripped naked, and after barbarously murdered ; some increase the number much.

William Gibb and his wife (both very old) murdered at the Moyn.

One hundred and twenty, men, women, and children, stripped naked, and after murdered at Bellick, alias Belleeke.

George Buchanan, mortally wounded, was near the Strade buried alive by Edmond O'Maghery and his followers.

August 1643, the wife of John Guardiner, of the barony of Carrogh, having leave, and a convoy of two Irishmen, to visit

her children at Bellick, was by the said convoy cruelly murdered.

At the Moyn the rebels forced one Simon Leper's wife to kill her husband, and then caused her son to kill her, and then hanged the son.

The county of Meath.

Near Navan, the son of James Wignall murdered about November 1641.

Mrs. Heglin and her daughter, with two children, murdered at Wilkins-town by two men hired thereto for two barrels of wheat ; and Robert Robin murdered near sir William Hill's house.

Mr. John Ware murdered at Moylagh ; four more hanged at the Navan.

An English woman (a papist) murdered at Gerald Fitz-Gerald's house at Clonard.

The murder of Thomas Pressick and others at Trim.

The county of Monaghan.

Many protestants hanged at Carrick-maccross.

Sixteen protestants at once hanged at Clounish ; several others there also hanged ; and sixteen women and children drowned in a turf-pit.

The deponent's father and son murdered.

Richard Blancy, esq., hanged.

Some murdered in Monaghan.

Seven murdered in the Fews ; Mr. Lloyd and others murdered, and one buried quick.

John Hughes and twenty-four murdered.

Eighteen murdered.

Seventeen men, women, and children drowned at Ballycross.

Many murdered, and four drowned.

Cornet Clinton and his grandchild drowned ; many others murdered.

The Queen's County.

Five murdered, whereof one was an English woman (turned to mass) great with child, who was shot.

John Nicholson and his wife murdered by Florence Fitz-Patrick and his servants on the Sabbath-day, the first deponent hardly escaped death for burying them. Elizabeth Baskerville

says that Mrs. Fitz-Patrick blamed the murderers because they brought not Mrs. Nicholson's fat or grease, wherewith she might have made candles.

Thomas Keyes, (a justice of peace of the Queen's County,) esq., aged sixty-six, and Thomas Dubbleday, hanged near Burroughs Castle, and Dubbleday shot as he was hanging, both being first stripped naked, gored and pricked in several parts of their bodies.

Amy Mamphin's husband murdered, and she compelled to stand in his blood, and she being stripped naked was drawn by the hair through thorns, and after sent away.

An English girl half hanged, and so buried.

Six English hanged by Florence Fitz-Patrick, after quarter givien, 1641.

Near Kilfeckell, an English man and his wife, and four or five children, hanged by command of sir Morgan Kavanagh and Mr. Robert Harpole; all afterwards cast into one hole, the youngest child (not fully dead) putting up the hand and crying "Mammy, mammy," yet buried alive.

Mary Harding put in the stocks and whipped to death, and her husband starved to death by Florence Fitz-Patrick and his followers, after they had given him all their goods in his promise to relieve them and theirs.

The county of Roscommon.

Sixteen English hanged at Ballilegue by Oliver boy Fitz-Gerald of Ballilegue.

Nine murdered at Ballinafad, whereof four were children, and one woman great with child, through whose belly the rebels thrust their pikes as she was hanging, because, as they said, the child should not live.

John Price and several others murdered in Athlone.

William Stewart had collops cut off him being alive, fire-coals put into his mouth, his belly ripped up, and his entrails wrapped about his neck and wrists.

The county of Sligo.

Mr. Thomas Stewart, merchant, and seven and thirty protestants, put into the gaol of Sligo, all except two or three

murdered there the same night, by divers breaking in upon them at midnight ; for proof whereof see the examinations of ——

Four murdered that day in the streets of Sligo.

Elizabeth Beard was killed in the river by a friar's man.

A friar with some soldiers undertaking to conduct Mr. Thomas Walker, a minister, his man, and two gentlewomen, from Roserk to Abbeboyle, the friar riding away, they fell into an ambush laid for them, where Mr. Waller, being on his knees at prayer, they cleft his skull to his mouth, killed his man, and stripped the women, one of which was afterwards murdered at Ballymoate.

Five and forty men, women, and children, murdered and destroyed near Ballysekerry.

Mr. William Ollifant, clerk, stripped half naked at Temple-house, and after dragged with a rope about his neck at a horse-heels up and down, because he would not turn papist ; another minister at the same time murdered, 1641.

At Ardneglas and Skreen about thirty protestants, men, women, and children, murdered.

Ten men, women, and children, buried alive near Titemple, or Temple-house.

In Sligo, the rebels forced one Lewis the younger to kill his father, and they hanged the son.

The county of Tipperary.

January 1641, fifteen, men, women, and children, protestants, murdered in Cashell, and near Cashell three or four children murdered by a convoy.

Four and twenty English (after they had revolted to the mass) murdered at the silver mines.

James Hooker, gent., and Mr. John Stuckley, and six more, murdered on sir Richard Everet's land ; Mr. Richard Walker, and ten more, hanged at Rathell. George Crawford and above fifty more murdered. Joyce, a maid of Mr. Walker's, buried alive ; Mr. Carr, Mr. Carter, and some eighteen more, hanged and murdered near Cashell ; Mr. Dashwood, (to whom the rebels gave quarter and convoy to Michaels-town,) by one Prendergast-Prender, murdered on his own land.

The county of Tyrone.

Robert Bickerdick and his wife drowned in the Black water; Thomas Carlisle put to death; James Carlisle and his wife also murdered; and so were about ninety-seven more.

The murder of Mr. John Mather and Mr. Blyth, both clerks, in or near Dungannon, though Mr. Blyth had sir Phelim O'Neil's protection; and sixty families of the town of Dungannon murdered.

Near three hundred murdered in the way to Colrain, by direction from sir Phelim O'Neil and Firlagh his brother.

In and about Dungannon three hundred and sixteen murdered; between Charlemont and Dungannon about four hundred murdered; drowned at and in the river of Benburb and Blackwater two hundred and six.

Thirteen murdered one morning by Patrick Mac Crew of Dungannon; two young rebels did murder in the county of Tyrone one hundred and forty women and children; the wife of Bryan Kelly of Loghgall murdered five and forty with her own hands.

At a mill-pool in the parish of Killamon were drowned in one day three hundred.

Eighteen Scotch infants hanged on clothiers tenterhooks; and one young fat Scotchman murdered, and candles made of his grease; another Scotchman's belly ripped up, and the end of his small guts tied to a tree, then he drawn about till his guts were pulled out, that they might try, said they, whether a dog's or a Scotchman's guts were longest.

The county of Westmeath.

In Kilbeggan a boy and two women hanged; one of them having a sucking child, desired it might be buried with her, knowing it would suffer afterwards, but it was cast out and starved to death.

William Sibthorp, parish-clerk of Mollingar, hanged; Edmund Dalton and Mr. Moorehead's son murdered.

The county of Wicklow.

Edward Snape and two others hanged, November 1641, in Knockrath-Park.

John the son of William Leeson stripped and hanged at Bal-ligarny, November 1641.

A young child of a year and quarter old, the deponent's, taken from her back, thrown and trodden upon, that it died; the mother and three other children stripped naked, so as the said children died: this was done upon the lands of Bordkillamore about the 11th of November 1641.

A COLLECTION OF SOME OF THE MASSACRES
AND MURDERS COMMITTED ON THE IRISH
IN IRELAND

SINCE THE 23d OF OCTOBER, 1641.

County of Antrim.

1641. ABOUT the beginning of November the English and Scots forces in Knockfergus murdered in one night all the inhabitants of the territory of the island Gee, to the number of above three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the catholics of that county were in arms or rebellion. Note, that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland of either side.

1641. Mr. Mac Naghten having built a small fortress in the said county, to preserve himself and his followers from outrages, until he had understood what the cause of the then rebellion was, as soon as colonel Campbel came near with part of the army, he sent to let him know that he would come to him with his party, which he did, and they were next day murdered to the number of eighty by sir John Clothworthy, now lord Masselin, his soldiers.

About the same time a hundred poor women and children were murdered in one night, at a place called Balliaghin, by direction of the English and Scots officers commanding in that county.

County of Derry.

1641. Some three hundred, men, women, and children of the Irish, having freely come under the protection of the garrison of Londonderry, were stripped, plundered, and killed by the said garrison.

1644. Mr. Morris, Mr. Daniel, natural son to the late earl Antrim, was hanged at Coolrane by the governor's orders, notwithstanding he had colonel Michael Jones's pass.

County of Down.

1641. The burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Newry, meeting the English army on their march to besiege the castle of the said town, were received into protection, and after quarter given to the garrison of the said castle, the said inhabitants, and the soldiers of the said garrison, to the number of five hundred and upwards, men, women, and children, were brought on the bridge of the Newry, and thrown into the river, and such of them as endeavoured to escape by swimming were murdered.

County of Donegal.

1641. About the 20th of November sir William Steward commanded the gentry and inhabitants of that county to join with his forces in opposition to the rebels, and accordingly they came to the place appointed, where captain Cunningham with a party of the said sir William's regiment, under pretence of incorporating with them, fell upon the inhabitants with his armed soldiers, and killed very many of them, among whom were Owen Mac Sherney, Morris O'Farey, and Donnagh O'Calan, gentlemen of quality and estates.

About the same time captain Flemming, and other officers of the said regiment, commanding a party, smothered to death two hundred and twenty women and children in two caves.

About the same time the aforesaid captain Cunningham murdered about sixty-three women and children in the isles of Rosse.

1641. The governor of Letter Kenny gathered together on a Sunday morning fifty-three poor people, most of them women and children, and caused them to be thrown off the bridge into the river, and drowned them all.

1641. In November, one Reading murdered the wife and three children of Shane O'Morhgy in a place called Ballikenny of Ramalton, and after her death cut off her breasts with his sword.

1641, 1642. The garrisons of Rapho, Drombo, Lifford, and Castle-raghen, slaughtered no less than fifteen hundred of the poor neighbouring inhabitants, never in arms, and three persons were chiefly noted among them for their barbarous cruelty, by name James Graham, Henry Dugan, and Robert Cunningham, commonly called the killer of old women.

1641, 1642. About two thousand poor labourers, women and children, of the barony of Terhu were massacred by the garrisons of Bellashanny and Donegal; and lieutenant Thomas Poe, an officer among them, coming under colour of friendship to visit a neighbour that lay sick in his bed, and to whom he owed money, carried a naked dagger under his cloak, which (whilst he seemed to bow towards the sick man in a friendly manner, asking how he did) he thrust it into his body, and told his wife her husband should be no longer sick, and so killed him.

1650. In the month of June, about three thousand horse and foot of his majesty's army, being defeated near Letter Kenny by the English rebels adhering to Cromwell, most of the principal officers of the said party, taken prisoners in the battle, were killed in cold blood by order of sir Charles Coot, late lord of Montrath, notwithstanding they had quarter from the officers who took them prisoners.

County of Monaghan.

1641. Captain Townsley, governor of Magherneckle, killed four labourers and a woman, being under protection.

Captain Bromwel, governor of Clunes, meeting upon the road with Mr. Charles O'Connelly, a gentleman living under his protection, caused him to be shot to death.

1641. The soldiers of the garrisons of Dundalk and Trim killed no less than five hundred poor innocent persons, women and children, in that county.

1641, 1642. The armies of Montroe and the Legan, in their several marches through that country, slaughtered about two thousand poor old men, women, and children.

1652. Colonel Barrow, of Cromwell's army, having taken an island defended by lieutenant colonel Patrick, Mr. Mahon for his majesty, after killing the said lieutenant colonel and his soldiers, put all the women and children to the sword, to the number of eighty, among whom a little pretty child of six years old, being spared by the soldiers, was killed by order of the said colonel Barrow.

County of Cavan.

1641. Mr. De la Pool, an English gentleman, having taken lands in that county some years before the war, invited several

of his friends to come out of England, and live with him, who were all murdered in their houses by the army, (only the said De la Pool, who was brought into the town of Cavan, and there hanged,) for no other reason but their being Roman catholics, and living among the Irish.

1641. Sir Alexander Godren and his lady, being Scotch, but Roman catholics, each of them above seventy years old, were plundered of their goods, and stripped naked, and all their tenants, servants, and all their sons murdered.

In the same year the English forces in this county drowned six hundred men, women, and children, in and about Butler's-bridge, no murders having been committed on any protestants there, although in the pamphlet lately printed several murders are said to be committed in that place.

County of Mayo.

In this county few murders were committed by either side, though the libel saith, that about two hundred and fifty protestants were murdered, whereof at Bellicke two hundred and twenty, whereas not one person was murdered there, which the now lady of Montrath can witness : her ladyship, sir Robert Hanna her father, with many others, being retreated thither for security, were all conveyed safe to Mannor Hamilton ; and it is observable, that the said lady and the rest came to Mr. Owen O'Rorckes, who kept a garrison at Drumahier for the Irish, before they came to Mannor Hamilton, whose brother was prisoner with sir Frederick Hamilton ; and the said M. Rorck, having so many persons of quality in his hand, sent to sir Frederick to enlarge his brother, and that he would convey them all safe to him : sir Frederick instead of an enlarging his brother, hanged him the next day after he received the message, which might have well provoked the gentleman to a revenge, if he had not more humanity than could be well expected upon such an occasion and in times of so great confusion, yet he sent them all safe where they desired.

There was a murder committed near the Moyn on twenty-seven protestants, which was all (and that too many) that was committed in that county. Buchanan, said to be buried alive, was killed in a private quarrel, and he cut off his adversary's hand before himself was killed.

County of Galway and province of Connaught.

1642. Sergeant Redmond Burk, of the lord of Clanmorris's foot company, and two more, were hanged by the then governor of the fort of Galway, the said lord being then of his majesty's army, for which action no reparatiēn being given to his lordship, he pretended it to be the occasion of his revolt from the lord marquis of Clanrickard.

1642. A party of the garrison of the said fort murdered six people in Rinveel, amongst whom one Geffery Fitz Thibot, aged about seventy years, and in a burning fever, with his wife who was old, were murdered in their beds; which action provoked many of the neighbours to stand on their guard against the said fort.

1652. Redmond Burke, a colonel in his majesty's army, had quarter given him by some of colonel Coot's men, he being taken in a skirmish between colonel Grace and some of Cromwell's party, and being prisoner for some time, colonel Henry Ingelsby caused his head to be cut off.

1652, 1653. It was an usual practice with colonel Stubbers, then governor of Galway, and others commanding in the said county, to take the people out of their beds at nights, and sell them for slaves to the Indies, and by computation sold out of the said county above a thousand souls.

Murders committed in the said county of Galway on protestants.

1642. It is confessed that two protestants were murdered in that county, whereof one was a minister, as the libel says; but it is most certain that the lord marquis of Clanrickard caused the three men who murdered one of them to be hanged in gibbets in three several places, and by his lordship's orders sir Roger O'Saghnesy hanged the two cowherds who murdered the other.

1642. It is confessed that the lord of Clanmorris having declared against the said fort, for hanging his sergeant as above expressed, took sergeant Rowleright, and two or three more of the soldiers of the said fort, pillaging a village near Galway, and hanged Rowleright and the other three.

It is also confessed that a barbarous murder was committed by one Edmund Alta, an irreligious profane fellow of the county

of Mayo, and his wicked complices, on some protestants at Shrule, a place meeting with the county of Galway, on about thirty persons, and the pamphleteer might well remember that the neighbouring gentry came with all expedition to rescue the said protestants, and that they did rescue the bishop of Killala, (who by the pamphlet seems to have been murdered,) and his wife and children, with the most part of the said protestants; and Bryen Kilkenny, a friar, then guardian of the abbey of Ross, near Shrule, was of the first that made haste to that rescue, and brought the said bishop's wife and children, with several others of the said distressed protestants, to his monastery, where they found as much civility as was in the said friar's power to give them for several nights, until Mr. Burk, of Castle Hacket, brought the said bishop, his wife and family, to his own house, where they wanted nothing he could afford them for some weeks, the like being done by several other neighbouring gentlemen to the rest of the said protestants, until they were sent to places of security, by the lord marquis Clanrickard's order, yet the said friar hath been these eight years past kept a prisoner for his function or calling, without any other crime laid to his charge, now being above eighty years of age.

And it is observable that in this county of Galway all the war time several protestant ministers, viz. dean York, Mr. Corroyn, Mr. Nelly, and other ministers, had their protestant flocks and meetings without interruption living amongst the Irish.

County of Roscommon.

No murders were committed by any party in this county, only five persons at Bellanasada, by one Roger O'Conor; and no murder was committed at Bellalegue during the war, although in the pamphlet the contrary is expressed; nor no such man as William Steward was known in that county, nor to have been murdered there, though the abstract sets forth his being murdered in a most barbarous manner.

County of Leotrim.

1641. It was commonly known to all sides how cruel the governor of Mannor Hamilton was in that county, how he

usually invited gentlemen to dine with him, and hanged them after dinner, and caused their thighs to be broke with hatchets before execution.

Also the said governor, being in Ulster when the rebellion broke forth, desired one Mr. Iragn, a gentleman who professed much friendship to him, to do him the favour to guide him in safety to Mannor Hamilton aforesaid, which the gentleman did, and came near upon a hundred miles with him, after being friendly treated for some days by the said governor, he hanged without the least occasion ; neither was the gentleman in the rebellion, but was hanged lest he should. The libel says, three protestants were murdered in this county, but on due examination it will be found three was none.

County of Sligo.

Here is none at this time who can give any exact account of the murders committed in this county, but one remarkable murder ; that in Creanes castle, in the town of Sligo, the Irish had a party, commanded by major Richard Burke, after obtaining quarter for them to march away, to the number of about two hundred were murdered rendering the castle : this sir Audley Mervyne knoweth to be true.

County of Dublin.

1641. About the beginning of November, five poor men, whereof two were protestants, coming from the market of Dublin, and lying that night at Santry, three miles from thence, were murdered upon their beds by one captain Smith, and a party of the garrison of Dublin, and their heads brought next day in triumph into the city, which occasioned Luke Nettervel and George King, and others of the neighbours, to write to the lords justices to know the cause of the said murder, whereupon their lordships issued forth a proclamation, that within five days the gentry should come to Dublin to receive satisfaction, and in the mean while, before the five days were expired, old sir Charles Coote came out with a party, plundered and burned the town of Clontraffe, distant two miles from Dublin, belonging to the said George King, nominated in the proclamation, and killed sixteen of the townsmen and women, and three sucking infants ; which unexpected breach of the proclamation, having

deterred the gentlemen from waiting of the lords justices, forced many of them to betake themselves to their natural defence, and others to abandon their houses.

In the same week fifty-six, men, women, and children, of the village of Bullogge, being frighted at what was done at Clontraff, took boats and went to sea, to shun the fury of a party of soldiers come out of Dublin, under the command of colonel Crafford, but being pursued by the soldiers in other boats, were overtaken and thrown overboard.

One Russel, a baker, in Dublin, coming out of the country in company with Mr. Archbold of Clochram, who went to take hold of the said proclamation of the lords justices, were both hanged and quartered.

1641. In March, a party of horse of the garrison of Donoghlin, murdered seven or eight poor people in protection, tenants to Mr. Dillon of Hunstowne, having quartered in their houses the night before, and receiving such entertainment as the poor people could afford.

About the same time a party of the English quartered at Mallahyde, hanged a servant of Mr. Robert Boynes at the plough, and forced a poor labourer to hang his own brother, and soon after they hanged fifteen of the inhabitants of Swoards, who never bore arms, in the orchard of Mallahyde, and hanged a woman bemoaning her husband hanged amongst them.

In the same year, after quarter given by lieutenant colonel Gibson to those of the castle of Carrigmain, they were all put to the sword, being about three hundred and fifty, most of them women and children; and colonel Washington endeavouring to save a pretty child of seven years of age, carried him under his cloak, but the child, against his will, was killed in his arms; which was a principal motive of his quitting that service.

1642. In April, one Nicholas Hart, and fourteen labourers, going with corn to the market of Dublin, and having a pass, were all murdered upon the road by a party commanded abroad by lord Lambert. The same day Mr. Sarsfield, of Lucan, sent his groom to guide the lord of Gesil's troop, which the fellow having performed, was knocked on the head for his labour. The same day eighteen villages in protection, the furthest within six miles to Dublin, were plundered and burned, and to the

number of four hundred men, women, and children were cruelly massacred.

About the same time a party of the garrison of Swords having brought in thirty poor labourers, forced them to dig their own graves, and then killed them.

Much about that time one Benet, sheriff of the county, killed sixteen men and women coming from the market of Dublin in May. A party under the command of colonel Crafford murdered one hundred and forty women and children in Newcastle and Coolmine, being under protection.

1641, 1642. Many thousands more of the poor innocent people of that county, shunning the fury of the soldiers, fled several times into thickets of firs, which the soldiers did usually fire, killing as many as endeavoured to escape, or forced them back again to be burnt, and the rest of the inhabitants, for the most part, died of famine.

1649. Captain Harrington, a protestant, and three hundred officers and soldiers, taken prisoners at the defeat given his majesty's army before Dublin, were, after quarter given, put to death by order of colonel Michael Jones.

Mr. Wogan of Rathcoffy, having quarter given him in the same time by captain Ottoway, was killed by lieutenant Tomson as he rid behind one of Ottoway's troopers; and one Mr. Hiny, an aged person, after dividing his goods, to the value of fifteen hundred pounds, among the soldiers, was knocked in the head, together with his daughter, her husband, and four children, after quarter.

Note, that no less than twelve thousand of the poor inhabitants of that county were cruelly massacred the first year of the war.

County of Kildare.

1641. Captain Thomas Hues having summoned thirty-three contributors to meet him at Hodgestowne, caused them all to be murdered.

1641. The said Hues murdered Mrs. Eustare, aunt to sir Robert Talbot, ninety years old, with two gentlewomen that waited on her, after she entertained him friendly in her house.

1641. The soldiers of Clongowes Wood and Rathcoffy, yielding upon quarter, were conveyed to Dublin and hanged there,

and upwards of an hundred and fifty women and children were found in the said places murdered.

1651. Captain Hulet, coming to sir John Dongan's house at Castle Town to search for a priest, tortured a child of sir John's, of seven years of age, with lighted matches, to force a confession from him where the priest was, and the poor child not telling, or not knowing, Hulet hung him up with the reins of his bridle ; but the troopers, when Hulet's back was turned, cut him down half dead, whereof the child died soon after.

It is well known that the commons of that county were for the most part destroyed and slaughtered by the English, insomuch that there were not so many left living as could gather the twentieth part of the harvest.

County of Meath.

1642. In April Mrs. Elinor Taaffe, of Tullag Hanoge, sixty years old, and six women more, were murdered by the soldiers of the garrison of Trim ; and a blind woman, aged eighty years, was incompassed with straw by them, to which they set fire and so burnt her : the same day they hanged two women in Kilbride, and two old decrepit men that begged alms of them.

In the same year, Mr. Walter Dulin, an old man, unable to stir abroad many years before the war, was killed in his own house by lieutenant colonel Broughton's troopers, notwithstanding the said Broughton's protection, which the old man produced.

1642. Mr. Walter Euers, a justice of peace and quorum, an aged man, and bedrid of the palsy long before the rebellion, was carried in a cart to Trim, and there hanged by the governor's orders.

1642. Many ploughmen were killed in Philberts-towne by the garrison at Bective.

1642. Forty men, women, and children, in protection, reaping their harvest in Bonestowne, were killed by a troop of the said garrison, who upon the same day killed Mrs. Alson Read, at Donsaghiln, being eighty-nine years old ; and forty persons more, most of them women and children, shunning the fury of the said troop, were overtaken and slaughtered.

1642. About seventy, men, women, and children, tenants to

Mr. Francis Mac O'Voy, and under protection, were killed by Greenvil's soldiers, and a hundred and sixty more in the parish of Rathcoare, whereof there was an aged couple blind fifteen years before.

1642. Captain Sandford and his troopers murdered in and about Mulhussey upwards of one hundred men, women, and children, under protection; and caused one Conor Breslan to be stuck with a knife into the throat, and so bled to death; and one Eleanor Cusaack, one hundred years old, was tied about with lighted matches, and so tortured to death in Clonmoghan.

1642. James Dowlan, about a hundred years old, Donagh Comen, Derby Dennis, Roger Bolan, and several other labourers and women, to the number of a hundred and sixty, making their harvest, were all slaughtered by the garrison of Trim.

1642. Mr. Barnwal of Tobertinian and Mr. John Husseg, innocent persons, were hanged at Trim by old sir Charles Coote's party.

1642. Gerald Lynch of Donower, aged eighty years, was killed by troopers of Trim, being in protection.

Mr. Thomas Talbot of Crawlstowne, about eighty years old, being protected, and a known servitor to the crown, (having been lieutenant of horse to the lord of Hoath's troop in the battle of Kinsale in queen Elizabeth's reign,) was killed at his own door by some of captain Marroe's troop.

1642. About the month of April, the soldiers under the said Greenvil's command killed in and about the Navan eighty, men, women, and children, who lived under protection.

1641. Captain Wentworth and his company, garrisoned at Donmo, killed no less than two hundred protected persons in the parish of Donamora Slane, and barony of Margellin and Ovmorein, the town of Ardmulchan Kingstowne and Haristowne, all protected persons.

1642. Sir Richard Greenfield's troop killed forty-two men, women, and children, and eighteen infants, at Doramstowne.

1642. A woman under protection was by captain Marrow's soldiers put into the stock of a tuckmill, and so tucked to death, in the town of Steedalte.

Lieutenant Ponsonby put two aged protected persons to death at Dowanstone, each of them about eighty years old.

Captain Marrow caused about an hundred protected persons, men, women, and children, to be put to death in the barony of Dooleek ; and lieutenant John Tench killed a protected person, seventy years old, near Dooleek.

Mr. Patrick White, son and heir of Mr. White of Clangil, in protection, was taken out of his bed and knocked on the head by lieutenant Luaton of the garrison of Trim.

1647. Three thousand soldiers at the battle of Dongans-hill were killed, after quarter given them, by colonel Michael Jones ; and many Irish officers taken in the battle, and deeply wounded, were killed the next day after, when they could not march on foot.

1649. After the taking of Drogheda by Cromwell, the slaughter of men, women, and children continued there for four or five days together in cold blood, to the number of about four thousand.

Many thousands of the poor inhabitants of this county were destroyed in the firs, as those in the county of Dublin ; and the rest, for the most part, perished with famine.

County of Westmeath.

1642. About the latter end of March Mr. Christopher Mac Gawley, notwithstanding the protection of the duke of Ormond, was killed in his own house with two of his servants, by a party of the English army marching to Athlone, who laying the said protection on the said Gawley's breast, shot him through his protection, to try whether it was proof against a bullet.

1642. Mrs. Ellis Dillon of Killenenin, having the lord justices protection for herself and her tenants, was plundered, and forty of the said tenants, their wives and children, were killed by soldiers under sir Michael Earnely's command.

County of Louth.

1641. In the month of February about three hundred poor people, men, women, and children, were cruelly slaughtered in the wood of Deruer, by a party of the garrison of Dondalke and Tredath.

1641. About the beginning of March, about three hundred farmers and labourers, never in arms, with their wives and chil-

dren, were massacred by a party of the garrisons of Dondalke and Tredath in Redmoore of Braganstowne.

About the same time captain Charles Townsly and lieutenant Faithful Townsly, with a party of the English army and garrison of Dondalke, slaughtered at Dunmogham two hundred and twenty inhabitants of several villages, commanded by the officers of the said army to live in that place for their greater security.

A party of the said garrisons of Tredath and Dondalke killed above two hundred persons in the castle of Reaghstowne, after quarter given.

1641. One Anthony Townsly hanged Mr. Dromgole, of Dromgoolestowne, at his own gate; the said Townsly hanged upwards of thirty poor men and women, going to the markets of Dundalke and Tredath, on a tree commonly called Eight-mile-bush, midway between the said towns.

1642. A party of horse and foot of the garrison of Tredath killed and burnt in the firs above one hundred and sixty men, women, and children, of the inhabitants of Termonfeighin, within three miles of Tredath; no less than ten thousand of the poor inhabitants of that county, though they are not taxed with any murder committed on the protestants, according to their own abstract, were massacred.

County of Wicklow.

October 1641. Three women, whereof one gentlewoman big with child, and a boy, were hanged on the bridge of Neuragh, by command of old sir Charles Coote in his first march to that county, and caused his guide to blow into his pistol, and so shot him dead: he also hanged a poor butcher on the same march, called Thomas Mac William.

1641. Mr. Denis Conyam, of Glanely, aged, and unable to bear arms, was roasted to death by captain Gee, of colonel Crawford's regiment, and in all the marches in 1641, 1642, 1643, the English army killed all they met in this county, though no murders are charged on the said county to be committed on protestants by the abstract.

In the usurper's time captain Barrington, garrisoned at Arklow, murdered Donnagh O'Dale of Killearrow, and above five hundred more protected by himself; and it is well known that most of the commonalty were murdered.

1650. Mr. Birne of Munneg, a gentleman of an inoffensive demeanour, being then in protection, the governor of Carloe marched with a party to this county; the said Birne came to him, and two of his servants produced his protection; notwithstanding which, he and his two servants were hanged, for no other reason than that the gentleman had a great stud of horses and mares, besides a good stock of cows, which were out of hand seized on by the governor and his party.

County of Kilkenny.

1641. The English soldiers of the garrison of Ballenekil burnt an old woman of ninety years old in her own house in Idough.

1642. The said soldiers massacred a hundred and eighty men, women, and children, who were cutting their corn near the said garrison. They dragged Mr. Thomas Shee, an innocent person, out of his own house, with five of his servants, and hanged them all at Ballenekil.

1650. Colonel Daniel Axtel cut off the head of Mr. Fitz Gerret of Browneiford's son, and hanged the sons of Mr. Butler of Ballikify, and Mr. Butler of Bonedstowne, because their fathers enlisted themselves in his majesty's army.

One Francis Frisby, an Englishman and a protestant, butler to the duke of Ormond, having had quarter upon the rendition of Kilkenny to Cromwell, was apprehended by the said colonel Axtel, and for not confessing his lord's plate was tortured to death by burning matches between his fingers in the castle of Kilkenny.

1651. Major Shertal, an officer of his majesty's army, having delivered the castle of Ballimay, upon quarter of life and liberty, to colonel Axtel, was run through the body by the said colonel, and all his soldiers, to the number of one hundred and ninety, were killed.

1651. Captain Thomas Shertel, a captain of horse in his majesty's army, coming to Kilkenny upon a safe conduct, was hanged by the said Axtel, because he had a good estate within two miles of Kilkenny.

1650. Colonel Axtel hanged fifty of the inhabitants near Thomastown, living under his protection, for no other reason,

but that a party of Cromwell's army was defeated the day before in that place by some of the royalists.

Colonel Axtel meeting one day forty men, women, and children, near the wood of Kildonan, who were coming for greater security to live within his quarters, caused them all to be killed.

Some soldiers of the king's army being taken in a village in Grace's parish, colonel Axtel caused all the inhabitants of the said village to be apprehended, hanged three of them, and sold the rest to the Barbadoes.

1650. The said Axtel, as matter of recreation, commanded his troops to gather together a great number of the protected people near Kilkenny, and being all in a cluster, bid the troopers rush through them, and to kill as many as happened on the left hand of the troop, and to spare the rest: thirty persons were murdered then on that account.

County of Wexford.

1651. Colonel Cook, in one march out of Iniscorphy into the baronies of Ballaghkene and Goury, murdered a hundred poor labourers, in protection, and five hundred women and children, whom he caused to be locked up in their own houses, commanding his soldiers to set fire unto them; and one woman having escaped out of a house was killed, and her belly barbarously ripped up; others thrust their sucking babes out of the windows, hoping that their innocence might beget pity in the soldiers, who by their colonel's command received the poor infants upon the heads of their pikes, and thrust them back into the fire.

1650, 1651. The said colonel Cook, in his several marches into the baronies of Bellaghkene and Skarawalsh, murdered upwards of three hundred men, women, and children, under protection, yet the wife and children of this Cook, notwithstanding all his barbarous cruelties committed against the king's subjects, and having always eminently appeared against his majesty and his royal father, have been so well befriended as to be provided for by special name in his majesty's declaration for the settlement of Ireland.

1650, 1651. Captain Thomas Barrington murdered no less than three hundred men, women, and children, under protection, in the baronies of Goury and Bellaghkene.

1650. The said Barrington killed fifty women and children at a place called Layen : he was so noted through Cromwell's army for his cruelty, that they called him *Barrington kill all*.

The above colonel Cook caused twenty-two of sir Walter Dongan's men, taken at the fight at Clonigal, to be killed after quarter given ; and one captain Birne, of his majesty's army, wounded in the fight, and much made of by some of Cook's men, who took him prisoner, was soon after stripped and killed.

Major Thomas Hart forced a country fellow, under protection, to leap into the river Bana, and took pleasure to see him drowned.

1650. Captain William Bolton, of colonel Pretty's regiment, slaughtered about two hundred and fifty men, women, and children, under protection, in the said baronies of Skarawalsh, Bellaghkene Bantry and Gillmalere.

1650. The said Bolton gave quarter at Castle Kirk to nine soldiers, who after delivering their arms were slaughtered by his order.

1650. Mr. Pierse Butler, eldest son to the lord of Galmoy, and captain of horse in his majesty's army, being taken prisoner in the fight at Lampstowne, was killed in cold blood, and after quarter, by the said Bolton.

1651. The said Bolton hanged Pierse Doran, who collected his contribution, at his own door, and one of his servants to keep him company.

1651. Nicholas Lenagh, a man known to be frantic, was killed in his own house by the said Bolton's orders.

Daniel Birne and Morogh Redmond were murdered in their houses by captain Barrington, they being in protection, and collectors of the contribution.

1651. Colonel Pretty meeting one day upon the road with Mr. Phillip Hill, a gentleman of his acquaintance, and his collector in the barony of Ballaghkene, hanged him on the next tree.

Notwithstanding all those murders and massacres acted upon the inhabitants of this county, it is observable that by the late pamphlet, and all the papers that have been published on that subject, they could not say one Englishman was murdered in that county since the rebellion.

County of Tipperary.

1641. On the 24th of October, one Brown and captain Peasely murdered eleven men, women, and children, in their own houses at Golden Bridge, before any of the catholics took up arms in that county.

About the same time the said captain Peasely going through Cloneulty, Phillip Ryan, a peaceable gentleman, and owner of the said town, came out of his house to salute the captain, who pulled out his pistol and shot the poor harmless gentleman dead at his own door.

Note, that these two murders occasioned the rising of the gentry and inhabitants of that county.

1641. One John Wise, of Balliowen, an English soldier, came several times in woman's attire upon the road, and committed divers murders upon simple country people coming from the market.

1649. A soldier of Cromwell's being killed by some of the Irish army, colonel Jeremy Sankey summoned all the inhabitants of the parish wherein he was killed, being under his protection, to come to Fethered, where he put them to the dice, and hanged five of them.

One lieutenant Mac Gragh, of his majesty's army, being taken prisoner by captain John Godfrey, was five days after hanged in the town of Fethered by colonel Sankey, notwithstanding the said Godfrey's protection to have given him quarter.

1652. Seventeen poor women and children, in protection, were murdered at Tullow by major Elias Green and his party, and one of the troopers refusing to kill a woman big with child, by name Elizabeth Cugly, was wounded by the said major, who thrust his own sword through the woman's bowels.

Within a while after, thirty women and boys, ready to starve, and digging of potatoes in their own gardens in the said village of Tullo, were all killed by orders of the said Major Green.

1649. Captain Cantuel and captain Fitz Gerald, of his majesty's army, were tied to a tree, and shot to death by some officers of Cromwell's army, after quarter given.

1651. Colonel Richards hanged Edward Mockler, a protected person, and also a woman big with a child, saying he did it lest she should be delivered of a traitor.

Major Bolton killed in the highway near Thurles one Philip Pursel, an honest gentleman, in protection.

Major William Moor murdered upon the highway near Thurles a servant of Mr. John Bryan's carrying provision to the lady of Thurles.

1651. Morish English, a gentleman in protection, was dragged out of his own house by the said captain John Godfrey, and brought to Cahirr, where he was hanged next day.

1651. Sixteen soldiers of his majesty's army taken prisoners by colonel Abott's troops near Nenagh, were all killed by them after quarter given.

1651. One Moran, a soldier, after quarter promised, was by colonel Abott's command hanged three hours by the heels from the battlement of the castle of Nenagh, and next day hanged by the neck until he died.

1651. Some of Abott's troops having brought a labourer out of Mr. Grace of Clogh Priory's house, to shew them the way, cut off his head within a musket shot to the house.

Two labourers thrashing of corn in Ballinanan were killed by captain Barker.

In the year 1650, David Walsh, esq., about eighty years old, was murdered by major Morgan, now sir Anthony Morgan, in the road between Clonmel and Waterford; and one of the said David's daughters, endeavouring to preserve her father, was murdered over him; and a grandchild of the said David's, seven years of age, then in the company, was murdered by the said sir Anthony's own hands, the troopers having absolutely refused to kill him; and several other of the said David's kindred were murdered for no other cause but that his children and relations were active in defending Clonmel for his majesty against Cromwell, and for his son John Walsh, esq., his attending on the lord lieutenant in order to his majesty's service.

No less than five hundred poor labourers and women were hanged at Clonmel and other garrisons in this county, guilty of no other crime but being found within the imaginary lines, drawn by the governors of the several garrisons in the said county.

A woman big with child, having, in presence of all the people

the child stirring in her womb, was hanged by colonel Richards at Clonmel.

County of Clare.

1644. Forty families in protection were murdered by the garrisons of Inchicronan.

1646. Several residing near Bunratty were murdered by the soldiers of that garrison under command of lieutenant col. Adams.

1651. Sir Hardress Waller and col. Ingoldsby, commanding two parties into the barony of Bueren, then under protection, killed in one day upwards of eight hundred, men, women, and children ; and meeting with squire Donogh O'Bryan, an aged gentleman, and protected by the said Waller, they locked him up in a country-house, to which they set fire, and burnt him to death.

1651. The said colonel's troop of dragoons murdered in the town of Quenne thirty aged and poor persons.

1651. The said Ingoldsby, after giving quarter to nine soldiers of his majesty's army, and a week's imprisonment, hanged them.

1651. The said Ingoldsby's men killed about a thousand poor labourers, women, and children, in the baronies of Corkromroe and Inchiquin, being all under his protection. Captain Puerefoy and other officers, commanded by the said Ingoldsby, murdered upwards of a hundred men, women, and children in the baronies of Bunratty and Tullagh, protected by the said colonel.

Captain Stafe and captain Apers, under the command of the said Ingoldsby, murdered no less than five hundred families in protection in the baronies of island I Brackane Cluandarala and Moyfarta. [sic.]

1651. The said Ingoldsby's men, when they were surfeited of killing, made it an ordinary practice to bridle the poor people, men and women, to tie them to their horses' tails, like beasts, and sell them to the Barbadoes.

County of Limerick.

1651. The said colonel Ingoldsby being one day with a party in the territory of Cleanlish, slaughtered upwards of five hundred men, women, and children, all under his protection.

1651. The said Ingoldsby and his dragoons murdered in one day about three hundred protected persons in the territory of Tullagh-hill.

County of Kerry.

1653. The inhabitants of the barony of Dunkueren, being ordered by lieutenant colonel Nelson, then governor of the county for Cromwell, to remove, with their goods and cattle, for their greater security, were met by the said Nelson, major Peppard, captain Thomas Barrington, captain Hasset, and other officers, with a party of horse, and under colour to secure their removal ; and on a sudden, upon a sign given, the soldiers fell upon the poor people, and killed upwards of three hundred men, women, and children : the cruelty of Barrington and Hasset in that massacre was remarkable, causing many women to be shamefully stripped naked, and afterwards most inhumanly butchered ; the fingers of such as wore rings to be cut off, and the babes and infants to be tossed on pikes and halbersts, in sight of their dying parents.

1653. The said Nelson having granted his protection under hand and seal to Tecig Morcarty and Conor Mac Donogh, catholic priests, until their transportation for Flanders by a time limited, before half that time was expired apprehended the said priests, and hanged them with their protection in their hands.

1653. The said Nelson and captain Peter Cary, meeting with one Thomas O'Bryne, a butcher by trade, hanged him for being sometime a lay-friar.

Many hundreds of the poor people of that county, reduced by the exaction and cruelty of their governors to a starving condition, were by Nelson's orders, for smelling of horse-flesh, which they were necessitated to eat or starve, hanged.

1653. Captain Thomas Barrington, aforesaid, caused the arm of a poor woman to be cut off with a hatchet ; and perceiving that she grasped with the other hand a sucking babe she had at her breast, he caused that arm to be also cut off, and the infant's head dashed against a rock in her presence.

The said Barrington caused a lieutenant and some soldiers of his majesty's army, taken prisoners upon quarter, to be stripped naked, and their brains knocked out with a hatchet.

County of Cork.

1641. In Condon's country, above three hundred labourers, women, and children, were murdered by some of the now earl of Orrory's soldiers.

In the said county, amongst others they gelded one Dennis Downey, and pulled out one of his eyes, and sent him in that posture to his wife. *

1641. Item, fifty-six persons, or thereabouts, were brought prisoners to Castle Lyons, (most of them labourers, who did never bear arms,) were put into a stable, and the women in that garrison at night fired their beards and the hair of their heads, which so disfigured them and burnt them, that their nearest friends could not know them next day, when they were hanging.

1642. In the same county, three hundred and fifty-five persons, men, women, and children, were murdered with clubs and stones, being in protection.

1642. Mr. Henly, an English gentleman, dwelling in Roche's country, but a Roman catholic, had his wife and children barbarously stripped, and most of his tenants inhumanly murdered by adjacent English garrisons; he the said Henly, nor his tenants, being never in arms; and such cruelty was used, that they stabbed young infants, and left them so half dead on their mothers' dead carcases. In the said Henly's town, and in the adjacent villages, at that time there were murdered about nine hundred labourers, women, and children.

1643. Cloglegh being garrisoned by the Irish, and surrendered upon quarter of life to sir Charles Vavasor, were all inhumanly murdered, and the hearts of some of them pulled out and put into their mouths; and many other massacres were committed the same time there on women and children.

1643. At Lislee, twenty-four men in protection were murdered by colonel Mynn's soldiers.

At Beallauere, the same year, Teig O'Mungan and David Broge, blowing by command into pistols, were shot to death by some of captain Bridge's men; and eight poor labourers more were killed by them, being in protection, and then employed in saving some harvest of English.

1642. At Clogheulty, abut two hundred and thirty-eight

men, women, and children were murdered, of which number seventeen children were taken by the legs, by soldiers, who knocked out their brains against the walls. This was done by Phorbis's men, and the garrison of Bandon Bridge.

At Garranne, near Ross, Conor Kinedy, who had protection for himself and his tenants, to save their harvest, were murdered by the said garrison of Ross, as they were ditching about their corn.

1641. At Bandon Bridge, the garrison there tied eighty-eight Irishmen of the said town back to back, and threw them off the bridge into the river, where they were all drowned.

1650. At Shiell, there were forty labourers, with women and children, put on the edge of a great cliff over the sea, a rope being drawn about them, with six soldiers on each end, and so thrown into the sea and drowned. This was done by major Wallis and his party, who about the same time murdered in the west of Carbery upwards of eight hundred men, women, and children.

1641. Patrick Hacket, master of a ship in Waterford ; the duchess of Ormond being desirous to be conveyed by him to Dublin, after leaving her safe with her family and goods there, the lords justices and the duke of Ormond gave him a pass for his safe return ; who being driven by a storm into Dungarvan, the said master and all his men were hanged by direction of the commander in chief there, notwithstanding he produced his said pass.

1647. Sir Alexander Mac Donnel, a known eminent servitor to his late majesty in the wars of Scotland, was murdered by major Purdome after quarter.

1651. Charles Mac Carty of Killmydy, being in a party with colonel Phayre at the grate of his castle, colonel Ingoldsby rides up to the grate with a spanned pistol, and shot him dead ; at which action the said Phayre was much dissatisfied, being commander in chief of that party.

1641. The English party of this county burned O'Sulevan Beare's house in Bantry, and all the rest of that country, killing man, woman, and child, turning many into their houses then on fire, to be burnt therein, and amongst others, Thomas de Bucke, a cooper, about eighty years old, and his wife, being

little less: and all this was done without provocation, the said O'Sulevan being a known reliever of the English in that country.

Observe, that this county is not charged in the late abstract with any murders.

County of Waterford.

1641. In Decy's country the neighbouring English garrisons of the county of Cork, after burning and pillaging all that country, they murdered above three thousand persons, men, women, and children, before any rebellion began in Munster, and led a hundred labourers prisoners to Caperquine, where being tied by couples were cast into the river, and made sport to see them drowned.

Observe, that this county is not charged with any murders to be committed on protestants.

The information of the marquis of Antrim.

My lord of Antrim, by letters, earnestly pressing to a conference with us, whose names are under-written, being then at the camp of Killahan in the county of Meath, there was a meeting with his lordship assented unto, and accordingly we this day, being the 9th of May, 1650, met him at Miltown, between Killahan and Killehan, in the said county, where and when, amongst other discourses, and particularly concerning a commission supposed to have been by the late king given to the Irish for their rising and acting as they have done in Ireland, on the 23d day of October, 1641, and after he the said lord of Antrim said that he knew nothing of any such commission, but that the late king before the said rising of the Irish in Ireland sent one Thomas Bourk, kinsman to the earl of Clanrickard, to the lord of Ormond, and to him the lord of Antrim, with a message, that it was the king's pleasure and command, that those eight thousand men raised by the earl of Strafford in Ireland should be continued without disbanding, and that they should be made up twenty thousand, and that they should be armed out of the store of Dublin, and employed against the parliament; and particularly that the castle of Dublin should be surprised and secured: which the said lord of Antrim's discourse, in substance aforesaid, was delivered at the time and place before mentioned, in the presence of us,

Signed,

John Reynolds.

Henry Clogher.

The 11th of May, 1650, another meeting was given by us under-named to the lord of Antrim at the aforesaid place, when and where, amongst other discourses, and in pursuance of that formerly by his lordship delivered, of the king's instructions concerning the rising of the Irish in Ireland, the lord of Antrim further added, that the letters of credence by the late

king to Thomas Bourk before-mentioned were in substance as followeth :

“ Thomas Bourk, you are to repair to Ormond and Antrim in Ireland, who are to give credit to what you are to say to them from us.

“ C. R.”

Which letter of credit being by the said Bourk shewed to Ormond and to him the lord of Antrim, he the said Bourk declared the king’s pleasure concerning the said eight thousand men, and what is before particularly mentioned in his lordship’s discourse on the 9th instant, which we the subscribers have read, the same in substance being repeated to us by the lord of Antrim.

The said lord of Antrim further said in our presence, that after the declaration to the lord of Ormond and to him the lord of Antrim made by the said Bourk of the king’s pleasure as aforesaid, they, the lords of Ormond and Antrim, endeavoured a meeting with each other for ordering affairs accordingly ; but there being, as they supposed, jealous eyes over them, they could not for a time compass it conveniently ; he said that in the parliament then sitting at Dublin they would often take occasion to retire into the withdrawing-rooin, belonging to the lords’ house of parliament in the castle of Dublin, but being followed by others they had not their conveniency for discourse which they desired. That having appointed a meeting at the bowling-alley in the college-green in Dublin, they would there sometimes exchange some words ; but having at length gained a fit opportunity for a meeting, after some debates, it was by them concluded, that present despatch should be made and sent to the king of that resolved on for his service. Ormond asking Antrim whom he would employ in that business to the king ; he answered, that he would send the lord Macguire : “ And I,” said Ormond, “ will send over my lord of Muskery ;” and a time being appointed for preparing the said despatches, they then parted ; but after some days Ormond again meeting with him, the lord of Antrim told him that Dublin was no convenient place for their business, that therefore the lord of Ormond would retire into the country for preparing of the said despatches, desiring him, the lord of Antrim, to meet him, at a time appointed, at Kilka, in the county of Kildare, belonging

to the late countess dowager of Kildare, whither Ormond said he would come on pretence of a hawking recreation, and that there they might discourse of all things freely : that the time of meeting drawing nigh, and the lord of Antrim prepared for it, he was therein prevented by a message from Ormond, where-withal colonel John Barry was sent, intimating that the lord of Ormond having considered of the business, he conceived it convenient that one of them two should repair to the king immediately, rather than so great an affair should be trusted by any other : that for himself he said, that being a stranger at court, his going thither could not be without suspicion, but that he the lord of Antrim might pass freely, earnestly desiring him to undertake the work : but he the lord of Antrim refused, saying, he would not go if Ormond would not go also ; yet was the lord of Antrim, by the pressing solicitation of colonel Barry aforesaid, persuaded to send some one from himself to the king, for intimating what was resolved for his service, and signifying the already disbanding those eight thousand men raised in Ireland by the earl of Strafford. This despatch was sent by captain Digby, constable of the castle of Dunluce in the north of Ireland belonging to the lord of Antrim : with those despatches, the said Digby did overtake the king at York, he being then on his way to Scotland, and from York was Digby returned back to him the lord of Antrim by the king, signifying his pleasure, that all possible endeavours should be getting again together those eight thousand men so disbanded ; and that an army should immediately be raised in Ireland, that should declare for him against the parliament of England, and to do what was therein necessary and convenient for his service. Upon receiving this the king's pleasure by captain Digby, he the lord of Antrim imparting the design to the lord of Gormontown and to the lord of Slane, and after to many others in Leinster, and after going into Ulster he communicated the same to many there ; but the fools, (such was his lordship's expression to us,) well liking the business, would not expect our time or manner for ordering the work, but fell upon it without us, and sooner and otherwise than we should have done, taking to themselves, and in their own way, the managing of the work, and so spoiled it. It being by us demanded of his lordship how he intended it should be managed ; he answered, that

the castle of Dublin being then to be surprised, if the lords justices should oppose the design, the parliament then sitting should declare for the king against the parliament of England, and that the whole kingdom should be raised for the king's service ; and that if the lords justices would not join in the work, they should be secured, and all others who would or might oppose them should be also secured. Which discourse was freely made by his lordship without any caution given us therein of secrecy ; yet was it demanded by us, whether his lordship would give us leave to have the same signified to his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to the lord president of Munster : his lordship answered, that he gave us free liberty so to do : which his lordship's discourse we have for our better remembrance reduced to writing, and testified the same under our hands to be as aforesaid.

Signed,

Henry Clogher.

Henry Owen.

Having seen and read this paper containing the particulars of a conference between me and the lord of Clogher and colonel Reynolds, and between me and the said lord of Clogher and Mr. Henry Owen, I do hereby acknowledge it to be the same in substance with what passed, excepting where it is said that captain Digby was by the late king returned with a despatch to me, whereas the despatch was sent to me from the king by one William Hamerstone : and whereas it is said, that the said late king appointed that the army with us to be continued and raised in Ireland should be employed against the parliament, it is to be intended, if occasion should be for so doing. And I do hereby aver the truth of all so delivered, with the other corrections and qualifications thereunto added. Witness my hand this August the 22d, 1650.

ANTRIM.

Observations on the marquis of Antrim's information.

FIRST, it expressly clears the king from giving any commission for the Irish rebellion, nor is there any thing in it that can charge his majesty with the least thought or intention that his protestant subjects in Ireland should be either plundered or murdered ; nevertheless, when an unthinking reader finds that the castle of Dublin was to be surprised, he runs away with the notion that the Irish conspiracy was pursuant to that order, and the king was in the bottom of that barbarous rebellion : and this perhaps was one design of this information ; but the chief end of it was to abuse the world with a belief, that the king was not necessitated to a war with the parliament by any thing then newly happened in 1642, but that he projected it long before, and had made this preparation to put it in execution.

Secondly, this information cannot be true, but either Antrim deceived the world, or Bourk imposed upon him ; for besides that Ormond and Antrim were unfit to be joined in a commission, as well because there was never any good understanding between them, as also because they were of different religions and interests ; how much more obvious and easy, less scandalous and more effectual, would it have been for the king to have made Ormond lord deputy, than to order him to surprise the castle and the lords justices !

Moreover, these twelve thousand additional men could not have been raised without noise and time, nor kept without money, nor armed at all, for there were not twelve thousand arms in the store, 23d October, and yet eight thousand of them were the arms of the disbanded men, which they were to keep on foot.

But it is yet more strange, that before any breach with the parliament, and whilst matters tended to an accommodation more hopefully than in some months before, the king should by such a rash and imprudent action administer such cause of jealousy to the parliament at so unseasonable a time, whilst he was absent in Scotland, as would certainly put the kingdom

of England in a flame, and lose his majesty the hearts and hands of more English cavaliers than he could gain of Irish men.

But to put this matter out of doubt, the king long before he went to York, which was in the middle of August, knew the Irish army would be disbanded, and therefore consented to license four regiments to be levied out of them for the service of the king of Spain, as appears by the following letter copied from the original:

“ ORMOND,

“ I have taken this occasion by the recommending the son of one of my faithful servants, to assure you that I very much esteem you, and that I do but seek an occasion to shew it you by more than words, as I commanded the vice-treasurer to tell you more fully, and in particular concerning the blue riband, of which you may be confident; only I desire you not to take any notice of it until I shall think it fit. The particular for this bearer, George Porter, is to permit him to make up a regiment of this disbanded army, if he can do it by persuasion, to carry them out of the country for the king of Spain's service: this is all: so I rest,

“ Your assured friend,

Whitehall, the 19th of June, 1641.

“ CHARLES R.”

Moreover, how much the king was surprised with the Irish rebellion will also appear in his letter to the marquis of Ormond, whom Antrim himself confesses to be a trustee, and therefore we may be sure the king wrote sincerely to him:

“ ORMOND,

“ Though I am sorry for this occasion I have to send unto you, which is the sudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and considerable part of Ireland, yet I am glad to have so faithful and able a servant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in so important a business: this is therefore to desire you to accept that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army, the which though ye may have some reason to excuse, as not being so well acquainted with this lord lieutenant as you was with the last, yet I am confident that my desire, and the importance of the business, will easily overcome that difficulty, which laid aside for my sake, I shall accept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which I

know you have to my service; so referring what I have else to say to captain Weem's relation, I rest,

“ Your most assured friend,

Edinb., 31 Oct. 1641.

“ CHARLES R.”

Lastly, the credential which Bourk had was not until the 8th day of February, 1641. And that the reader may see the bottom of this intrigue, I have added it verbatim, copied from the original :

“ ORMOND,

“ Being well satisfied of the fidelity of this bearer, Mr. Bourk, I have thought fit, not only to recommend him to you, but also to tell you that I have commanded him to impart to you what I have not time to write, which I think will much conduce to the reducing of the rebels, which I know none desires more than yourself; and so I rest,

“ Your most assured friend,

Windsor, Feb. 8, 1641.

“ CHARLES R.”

I N D E X.

The numerals refer to the book, the Arabic figures to the paragraph of the History. References to the Appendix are designated by *App.*, those to the Notes of Bishop Warburton by the letter *W.*, and those to the "Short View of the State of Ireland" by the letter *I.*

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Worrington, by Launceston in Devon, granted by Charles I. to sir Rd. Greenvil, ix. 62.

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